

Korea Communiqué

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CONTENTS:

Editorial: January 20 - Beginning of a New Era?
South Korea's Cancerous Economic Growth
Kim Chi Ha's Final Testimony
The Plight of Korean Fishermen: Deep Sea Fishermen
Tragedy in Korea's Coastal Waters
A Message to All the Korean People
Joint Declaration
Catholic Farmers Association Proposal

JANUARY 20 - BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA?

On the eve of President-elect Carter's inauguration, the question uppermost in the minds of the Japanese Government is when and how much of a troop pullout the U.S. will effect in South Korea. The fact of a troop withdrawal is now accepted; all that remains to be negotiated is the extent and timing. Or so it seems to one reading the Japanese press. However, a far more substantive issue lurks in the shadows. That is whether the Carter Administration will continue to prop up the Park Chung Hee regime by other means of support, or whether it will continue the cooling of relations in ways that allow democratic processes to be reborn in Korea.

In an atmosphere of increasing tension between the U.S. and South Korea, speculation is rife about the Carter administration's real intentions. There are a number of signs that the U.S. has decided to withdraw, not only troops, but its tacit support of Park Chung Hee as well. The mid-December-speech of Carter's military advisor Paul Warnke which stated that the Carter administration would not support Park in the face of a popular uprising, was one sign. Another was a CIA official's statement, made public in December, that the Park Chung Hee regime was on a one-way street and could not move back toward democracy. These and other signals have been taken in Japan as indications of a fundamental shift in American policy, looking toward the resignation or overthrow of Park by forces more capable of gaining and holding popular support.

That is an optimistic view. A more pessimistic perspective sees these gestures as the flexing of power by the U.S. to win certain reforms from

- 1 -

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Park in an effort to appease domestic critics in the U.S. such as Rep. Donald Fraser. According to this view, if Park responds to these pressures by cosmetic changes in the CIA, by less harsh treatment of political prisoners or by relaxing the Presidential Decree No. 9, he can be assured of continued backing from the U.S.

Which of these views is accurate, or whether either of them is, cannot be ascertained at the moment. But Park Chung Hee is obviously betting on the latter. He has adopted a policy of relaxing repression against those political opponents who have caught the eye of the international press, even as he tightens up against other critics. At the same time that Kim Dae Jung and 17 others were given lightened sentences of 2 to 5 years for the March 1 Declaration for National Democratic Salvation, Presbyterian ministers in Kwangju received six year terms for statements supporting the March 1 Declaration. While three Japanese imprisoned as spies for North Korea were released just before year's end, several other Koreans from Japan were given death sentences on the same charges.

It is doubtful that such two-faced policies will deceive many. But lest the Carter Administration be tempted to choose the course of least resistance and continue the U.S. props under Park, a clear unequivocal demand for restoration of human rights must continue to be heard on Capitol Hill and in the White House.

The reverse side of the Carter strategy is to substitute Japan for part of the U.S. military presence. To all who know the history of Japan-Korea relations, this is absolute folly. But within the Japanese Self-Defense forces, there are spokesmen ready to take advantage of the moment to beef up Japan's military establishment. Already Self-Defense Force ground force deployment to Western Japan, nearest to Korea, has been announced. Peace-loving people in Japan must remain vigilant, so that what appears to be a lessening of foreign military presence in Korea does not become the occasion for the interjection of new military elements into that precariously balanced situation and further set back the chances for peaceful reunification of Korea.

SOUTH KOREA'S CANCEROUS ECONOMIC GROWTH

In medicine, the notion that health could be measured by the number of new cells produced by the body is obvious nonsense. The overly rapid growth of new cells is more often a sign of cancer than health. When it comes to measuring economic health, however, for some reason, otherwise thoughtful people persist in trying to use the equally simplistic notion of GNP growth rate as a measure. The South Korean economy is being praised by Western development experts and others for the "miracle" of a 15% growth rate last year. Government rhetoric further inflates these figures into predictions that Korea will shortly leap out of the ranks of developing countries into the club of the "developed".

Fifteen percent growth is an impressive accomplishment. But is it a reliable measure of real economic health, as the government propagandists and their friends (and creditors) in the international banks claim? Or is it a cancerous growth, an organ within the body enlarging out of proportion to the rest and feeding like a parasite on the other organs? Images have their limits as analytical tools, but there are many indications that the

ROK economy can be compared to a cancerous body, with an enlarged -- and malignant -- export sector growing at the cost of the rest of the economy, further increasing Korea's dependency on Japan and the U.S. and weakening the already undermined domestic industrial and agricultural sectors.

Symptoms of this condition are found elsewhere in this issue of Communi-que, in articles about the plight of small-scale fishermen and workers in domestic industries. Other symptoms are found in the study of rice production costs which was carried out by the Catholic Farmers Association. These are symptoms of a structural disorder, not simply of a temporary lag in trickle-down effect.

Although the economic planners describe the export sectoral growth as the stimulant to a self-reliant economy, in fact the export sector is becoming a parasite on the rest of the economy, draining the strength from the economy even as it grows. This happens in several ways. Because of the government's need to pay its staggering foreign debt caused by massive loans and worsening terms of trade, severe import restrictions have been imposed on raw materials and replacement equipment and parts needed for domestic industry, while at the same time special import licenses are granted to export producers. This shortage of materials and equipment has caused spiralling prices domestically as well as cutbacks in production. One example is the domestic wholesale price of cotton yarn, which has increased 44.8% in the last 11 months, while export prices have held steady in order to entice foreign buyers.

Another result is the unavailability of development capital for domestic industry. While export-oriented industries are given privileged foreign exchange rates and bank loan rates as well as access to letters of credit, domestic producers are trapped in a capital-scarce, high interest money market and, as a result, are unable to expand or replace worn-out machinery.

Employment and working conditions are also negatively affected. While the export sector's improvement in 1976 provided some new jobs, the stagnation of the domestic economy caused work conditions to worsen as shortages and price rises cut into company profits. Wages in export industries and for government employees rose sufficiently to compensate for inflation in 1976, but in the domestic manufacturing and service sectors, such was not the case. The gap between rising prices and stagnating wage levels continued to increase, as did the hardship of the people at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

Now another "shock" threatens to lay bare the vulnerability of ROK's export-based economy. The U.S. has decided this month to cut back import quotas on one of South Korea's major exports, footwear, to 1/5 the 1976 level. Similar restrictions on canned mushrooms and television sets are in the works. European countries and Canada have imposed restrictions on the import of Korean textiles. These are the very products which Korea has based its "miraculous" growth upon this year, but as is the case for all Third World countries, in a "buyer's market" they are helpless to protect themselves against restrictive measures in the West. Nothing could expose the folly of current economic thinking in Seoul more graphically.

Because all the country's resources are crowded into the development of exports, this rapidly growing but vulnerable sector, rather than strengthening the economy as a whole, creates the false illusion of growth while it further weakens Korea's economic resilience. With each increase in the gap between export-oriented and domestically oriented industries, the Korean

economy becomes less able to pry itself free from dependency on the U.S. and Japan, whose companies, markets and technology control the export sector, and whose banks hold the mortgages.

At the beginning of 1976, an international flurry was caused by the report published in Washington of the potential collapse of the ROK economy. A major rescue mission was undertaken, involving the American banks which had over-extended themselves in loans to Korea, international financial institutions such as IMF and World Bank, and several Middle East countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, from which Korea gets most of its oil. The rescue mission succeeded in obtaining major loans for Korea last year, justifying in some measure the bold headlines of success in enticing foreign capital which have become a daily feature of the Korea press. However, this mood of recovery has not yet enticed most foreign businessmen into increased investment. Small-print readers of the economic reports will notice that almost the entire amount of new capital is in the form of public loans for infrastructure--dams, railroads, communications facilities, etc.-- or foreign bank consortia loans to local subsidiaries of multinational corporations. Actual foreign capital investment approvals from January through October, 1976, totalled only \$48.26 million, compared with a yearly total of \$194 million in 1975. Of this, only \$21.5 million was invested in new projects. The source of investment also was concentrated: Japan invested \$29.7 million of the total, while U.S. investors brought in only \$6.8 million. These are not signs of overwhelming confidence in the Korean economy.

Since President Park Chung Hee declared the Yushin system in 1972, a variety of excuses have been produced to justify the destruction of the political process. One of the most persistent has been the claim that greater discipline was needed in order to guarantee economic growth. Democracy, it was claimed, was a luxury in a country of great poverty. When the GNP reached 1,000 dollars per person, the economic security of the nation would be such that democracy could be allowed. However, the above facts suggest that the Yushin system is really being kept in place to control the people from revolting against the fact that while a few parasitic industrial leaders are growing wealthier by the day, the overall situation of the country grows structurally worse. Such a policy, however, is short-sighted. For a people cannot be kept in ignorance forever about their own situation, and when the awareness that their country has been sold yet again to foreign powers and interests becomes widespread, the people may well rise up and cut out the cancer in their midst.

KIM CHI HA'S FINAL TESTIMONY

From morning until after ten o'clock in the evening of December 23, final defense arguments were presented in Seoul District Court on behalf of Christian poet Kim Chi Ha. Much to the amazement of his defense attorneys and the spectators, Kim concluded the day's session with over three hours of intense and lucid talk, following a logical progression of thought without the aid of written notes. As Kim noted of himself, the many months' incarceration have helped him organize and clarify his thoughts -- so much so that he would not mind additional years to keep his mental processes active. On a more serious note, he asked not to be released until democracy could be guaranteed in South Korea, and with words which moved the audience to tears, he pledged his readiness to die in prison, should that be the cross he is to

bear.

Being charged with being a Communist, the bulk of his defense had to be aimed at refuting that accusation. As the trial drew to a close, Kim had succeeded in convincing everyone present, with the likely exception of the panel of three judges and the government prosecutor, that his are pure Christian motivations. As one Christian observer exclaimed afterwards, Kim made a "most honest statement", poetic and prophetic, while the prosecutor went to sleep in court. In spite of such a spirited defense, on December 31 Kim Chi Ha was found guilty as charged, and sentenced to a seven-year term. Whether this will replace the life-sentence handed down in 1974, which has subsequently been suspended and reinstated, is not yet clear. But in his opening remarks to the amused courtroom observers, Kim asked whether he would be raised from the grave to complete his prison term.

Kim's lawyers are full of respect for the manner in which their defendant has presented his own case in court. They and others observe that, rather than simply maintaining his pre-arrest level of mental activity, Kim has gone even deeper and has significantly expanded his awareness of his own and surrounding social realities. As a poet, he has been able to express this awareness as if in a vision, increasing the respect many have for his rare and indomitable spirit, and no doubt increasing the government's fears of the intellectual threat he poses.

The following are paraphrased excerpts from Kim's final statement in court:

Introduction: I want to extend special thanks to the prosecutor, who has requested that I be sentenced to ten years in prison -- I suppose he will have me rise from my grave so that I can serve the full ten years... (laughter from observers)

(1) I cannot understand the government's attitude towards me. That attitude has changed twice, once after the fall of Vietnam, and the second time after the March 1 Declaration was issued at Myongdong, at first they looked ready to kill me; really full of anger. But after the fall of Vietnam and the Myongdong incident they asked me to work with them. They know I cannot do that, and I am prepared to stay in prison twenty, thirty, or forty years, when I see government ministers who should be in prison getting rich instead.

(2) They say I am against capitalism and in favor of communism because I was born into a poor home. How do they explain, then, that over 80 per cent of this people are still poor? Why don't those in the government attempt to distribute the wealth that some people make, for who is it who has access to travel and makes money by smuggling jewels and the like?, and who has been distributing money abroad?

It is the people of this country who are working and making the wealth, but they remain poor because of this system of oppression and exploitation. How can you say that it's wrong to fight against such oppressors? This country belongs to the Korean people -- those people who, according to these foolish prosecutors might become communists because they are poor. What a pity!

(3) I am a poet, and at the same time I want to be with the poor, share their suffering, tell their stories, and do something so that living in our country becomes pleasant again. If revolution is the only way for the poor to be freed from their poverty, that possibility must be left open. Man must

live a human life. And since I am a poet, I should be permitted to dream about anything. Whatever the national ideology, a poet should always be permitted to write. (At this point Kim told a story about a Russian poet who was prevented from writing his poetry anymore. In desperation, he finally committed suicide.) Are we going to do the same thing here, thanks to our Anti-Communist Law? That law should be understood and enforced lawfully, but it is not.

It is time that this country proves to itself that it has a social system better than that of Russia. Instead, it seems that I will be sentenced for a poem I have not yet written. Let's put it another way: it is my imagination which will be sentenced, and they say that this will be done to protect freedom!

All my basic human rights have been violated since my arrest. Like others, I used to eat, and as a natural result I used to go to the washroom. Do you know that I am not even permitted to have any toilet tissue? I have to clean myself with my finger. That's the way those people are retaliating against me. Is it true that this country is better than North Korea? I'm not so sure, and I think that, first of all, this government should repent for its own mistakes.

(4) The prosecution and government say that I am a Marxist and a Maoist. But my prison notes are filled with patriotic and Christian thoughts. These are my only concerns: my country, and Christianity. I am neither a communist, nor a Maoist. I am myself, Kim Chi Ha. I am a Korean. The only language I speak is Korean, and my writing is only in Korean. I am also Christian.

God is my father, and Korea is my mother. All of us will die, and ideologies will also die. Since ideologies themselves were made by man, they don't deserve that we stick to them. But God's truth is eternal. It is the only thought that deserves that we stick to it.

Loving our country and God at the same time is the only way to save our country. First of all, the people's energies should be fostered and not stamped on. If sometimes I speak about Marx or Mao, it's because, perhaps, there is a little something true in them. And if there is something true there, that must be used and not forbidden. But that doesn't mean that I am a Maoist. I am not a Maoist. Those prosecutors are just like children. They use words, the meaning of which they don't know.

Now I will enter my subject. It's very difficult, but I will try.

1. Maltuk: The theme of the play by this title is a National Democratic Revolution, which is not at all related to Marx or Mao. For example, there is nothing materialistic in that play. On the contrary, it is full of religious ideas. There is no dictatorship of the proletariat, and there is not even a class struggle there. Maltuk is not a worker, and one of the most important themes is Koinonia (Christian brotherhood). As further example, there is nothing about violent revolution in that play. The only words the prosecution doesn't like in it are bourgeois and exploitation. But I will say more about these later.

I am ready to sacrifice everything, even my own son, so that this country can enjoy a national and democratic revolution. I think that this country is also a part of the Third World, for a number of reasons. One negative reason is how the government is going along with the rich foreign countries for the neo-colonialization of this country. Christianity and Nationalism will cooperate with each other in the coming Democratic National Revolution. It is not a so-called "people's revolution" as was experienced in China. If we look for something in Mao, it is for means, and not for

purposes. I don't want a bloody revolution, but a peaceful revolution which will give birth to a society in which all men will be happy. It is not, first of all, a problem of capitalism, but one of oppression, and we must get rid of the oppressors.

II. Bourgeois & Bourgeoisie: The bourgeois are the corrupted people who are now controlling this county. I am against dictatorship and for respect of basic human rights. I am against oppression and for a guarantee of means of living to everyone. I am against the comprador system, and for an independent country. These three things I am for are the aims of what I call a national democratic revolution.

Many people are stirring for that now in Korea, and many Koreans are also stirring for the same purpose abroad. All those people, including myself, understand that that's the only way to build a country in which people are happy to be living.

This struggle started a long time ago. Hundreds of statements have been issued since the coup d'etat in 1961, and there are plenty of good ideas in those statements. Someone should look at those statements and collect all the ideas which could be utilized as the basis for organizing action. Of course, the government won't like that suggestion. It sends people to jail (in Korean this becomes a pun, as jail is referred to as a "place of education"), but those jailed people rarely change their minds.

The funny thing is that it seems the revolution will not be the result of the work of intellectuals (ideologists). Instead, it will be the result of work done by priests and ministers. I think that a peaceful revolution could succeed quickly and in the near future, and once again, I feel that it will not be a communist revolution.

III. I have called that revolution a National Democratic Revolution because it is the people -- the whole people -- who will be the dynamic strength which brings about the revolution. I said the whole people. I could also call it a "united front", but by this I mean something very different from the "people's front" they talk about in communist countries. Very different for two reasons: (a) It is the people themselves who will be acting together -- in communist countries it's not the whole people, but a few, and the rest of the people have nothing to say. I would like to see a Congress in Nehru's style, in which people are united, but without uniformity. (b) The initiative will be taken by people inspired by Christian ideas and ideals -- people gathered with Christ in their midst, and working together in accordance with the revolutionary ideas which Christ brought to earth.

(In June, when Kim was examined by his defense lawyers, he was asked about Christianity, theology, and its relation to social realities in great detail. The second point above was in direct reference to the statements made earlier concerning Liberation Theology.)

Something along the lines I have referred to as the National Democratic Revolution began here two years ago with the formation of our National Council for the Restoration of Democracy.

IV. Lumpen Proletariat: The government found this word in my prison notes, and they believe this is Communist terminology. By the same line of reasoning, since we say that tigers are of the same family as cats, can we conclude that the tiger is a cat? That exemplifies exactly the logic of the prosecutors. They should know what Christianity has to say about the poor and the outcast. Don't they know that Jesus was born in a stable? Don't they know that Jesus chose those Galilean fishermen to be the columns of his church? Don't they know that Mary of Magdalene was a whore? He is the one who is able to change people. He is the one, with the poor and the outcasts,

who is able to bring about a peaceful, non-violent revolution.

V. The National Democratic Revolution: As I envision this, it will be brought to life and sustained by Christianity; by a faith in God which will become stronger and stronger. Marxists believe in the limitless powers of man. They changed God into Prometheus, but that's wrong. Mankind cannot find salvation in materialism. I do not know Marx very well, but I think that Marxism will not last very long. Look at what is happening in China or in North Korea. There, Communism, be it Maoism or anything else, is looking more and more like a religion, isn't it? That is because materialism leads mankind to a dead-end. That's why the Chinese have been trying to find something else. Who knows, perhaps the Chinese are seeking Christianity? I believe that salvation for this world will come via revolutionary religion.

VI. The Methods to bring about a National Democratic Revolution:

I am a believer in non-violence, but I cannot condemn all violence. We must attempt to harmonize violence and non-violence, using Christ's teachings (Kim quoted scripture to illustrate his point). Though Christ was a practitioner of non-violence, in order for us to conquer evil, at some point there may be a need for violence, but with a final victory of non-violence. Jesus was a pacifist who knew the necessity of violence, and could use it as a psychological shock to break people out of their ways and into thought. (In this portion of his statement, Kim made further references, quite similar to the points raised in his May 1975 Declaration of Conscience.)

VII. Communist in Christian Clothing: The prosecution said that I am a communist who hides himself under either democratic or Catholic appearances. When have I been hiding? I have always been hiding and talking in the open. I do not have anything to hide and I have not concealed anything. Even here in court, I have been saying that I am ready to pick up from Marx or Mao anything which might be good or right in their ideas. The government also found something in my notes about Marx + Jesus. I would have them recall that those words are not mine. They are a quotation from Hromadka (Czechoslovakian theologian) -- And they know that! But at any rate, I don't believe that Marx and Jesus can be mixed. Marx and Mao are also exploiters, and I don't like them. I don't accept the way the prosecutors are trying to make a Maoist out of me. They use the term "contradiction" as an example. That word must have been invented by God himself. Look at Genesis, Chapter 1. He had night and day, and together, they make up one day (In Korean language this also becomes a pun). Aristotle put some order into logic. As far as I know, Aristotle lived before Marx or Mao, didn't he? The problem of solving contradictions is as old as the world. If there is a materialistic dialectics, there is also a spiritualistic dialectics. As a matter of fact there are tens of materialistic dialectics. Any college student should know that fact, but it seems that our prosecutors don't know. How is it that these prosecutors, as soon as they find the word "tongil" (unification, unity), immediately find some relation to Mao. In Mao perhaps we will find some insights, but I do not like Mao. One reason for this is that, according to Mao, struggle is more important than unity. Mao is in favor of a permanent struggle -- unity being only temporary. I believe exactly the opposite: A temporary struggle in order to reach a permanent unity. Christ wanted to bring peace and love to this world -- not fights or hatred.

Moon Sun Myong had an interesting idea about unity and unification, but he's a failure because he sought an ally in the exploiters. He is trampling on the weak and poor, and he is hindering any kind of unification. Perhaps he is the anti-Christ, come to announce that a better world is coming

soon.

(a) This society (the Republic of Korea) is deadly polarized. Everything is either black or white, either/or, a very sectarian country, and I should add a very schizophrenic country as well, in which pluralism and relativism are not permitted. It's either all good or all bad. I would say that our country is sick, mentally sick, and in order to have the country cured of its disease, we need people who have their minds somehow unified internally. People able to discern. We need a cultural, evangelical, and political movement to cure this disease, and that movement must be based on Christian ideals.

(b) To cure this society, in which hatred is the way to success, there must be a struggle against political and economic power. There also are many things to amend and to reform in Christianity. For example, churches are sometimes too concerned with money. It is important that the churches and Christians begin by reforming and amending themselves and their own groups, and must show to all society a model of fraternal life. Someday, when people have seen that model, they will rebel against the oppressing powers.

(c) As far as North-South unification is concerned, a pre-requisite is to get rid of those whose interest it is to keep the country divided, and who have kept it divided for thirty years. The people of this country demand unification. The dictators should comply with the will of the people, if they are truly interested in their own future and in the future of this country. They should comply with the will of the people so that a peaceful revolution succeeds, and so that the people of this country may be happy. If the dictators comply with the will of the people, the unification of North and South will come soon. But before spring comes to Prague, spring must come to Athens. And when spring comes to Prague, there will be just one spring to be shared by all. I hope that very soon we will enjoy a spring in which there are no tears, no hatreds -- a spring full of joy, and of love, and of flowers.

(d) (Here the poet Kim described the coming of a new heaven and a new earth, in terms similar to those in Isaiah. He also referred to developing relations with the countries of the Third World.)

Conclusions: In order to build a better world, there is no other way than self-sacrifice in the struggle against evil. First, here in this country, the South must quickly become a free society. That is a condition for having the regime in the North melted, and for disintegrating the type of government which exists in the North. The problem is that our government refuses any kind of liberalization here. Therefore we will have to get rid of him (referring to President Park Chung Hee). It would be much better if he freely accepted a liberalization of this country, but since he doesn't accept it, we will have to force him to accept it. As much as possible this should be done without the use of violence. Before we succeed, in the meantime, we will have to go to Sudaemun (Westgate prison in Seoul). That's the cross, their sacrifice. People will have to be disgusted, but that's the way of Christ. That's the way by which he transforms sinners into saints, just like he transformed Mary of Magdalene, that whore, into a holy woman. Then we will enjoy a resurrection, and we will be next to the gate of a new heaven and a new earth.

Don't you think that we are very far from Mao Tse Tung? Then I am innocent, aren't I?

But I have something else to add: I know that a lot of students are in

jail because of my Declaration of Conscience (for circulating it on the university campuses). Have those students freed! The "People's Revolutionary Party" ("PRP") people are victims of a frameup. Have those people freed. And now, will you know that tomorrow is Christmas eve -- I hope that we will have much much snow for Christmas as a sign that Mr. Park Chung Hee is becoming lenient.

THE PLIGHT OF KOREAN FISHERMEN

I. Deep Sea Fishermen

LOS PALMOS -- The South Korean deep sea fishing industry has made rapid progress in the past ten years. The tonnage of deep seafishing boats has increased 29 times, while the annual catch has increased 67 times in this decade. The fast growth of the industry is reflected in the youthfulness of the captains, navigators and engineers of the Korean fishing fleet docked in Los Palmos. Men of 28 or 29 years have become the captains of trawlers after only four or five years out of school at Pusan's Fisheries University. There is even a 24 year-old captain of a tuna boat. The Korean captains are young with fair complexions, compared to their Japanese counterparts in the forties, for whom years at sea have brought rugged tanned faces. The bridges of the Korean boats are filled with the fresh smiles of navigators newly graduated from college.

Japanese fishermen, who resent the Koreans' rapid advance into deep-sea fishing, claim the "captains and navigators are a special class on the boats." The difference in treatment between officers and crew is extreme. Japanese have been attracted to Korea as a base for fishing because of the cheap wages of Korean fishermen. Since the ship owners owe huge debts to Japan, the treatment of low-class seamen is very bad. Compared with Japanese fishermen, who sail on ten month voyages and then come back to Japan by air, Korean fishermen go to sea for thirty months at a time. Japanese fishermen work an eight-hour day while in harbor, twelve hours at sea. They receive over one hundred thousand yen in fixed salary plus pay for working hours. In the case of Korean fishing boats, however, the captain and the officers gather a crew by paying a sum in advance. Normally they work a sixteen hour day while at sea and their salaries depend totally on the amount of the catch. According to one ship-owner in Los Palmos, they subtract the cost of fuel, food, fishing tools, unloading and exchange, before giving 65% of the balance to the ship owner to pay back to the Japanese lender. The rest, 35%, is divided among the crew. The captain gets three shares, the officers get 2 to 2.5 shares and ordinary seamen get 0.8 shares each. For the average sailor that comes to about 60 - 80,000 yen.

A Japanese fisherman who once worked on a Korean boat as a leader for six months says, "When we were in the harbour, the crew ate only rice and kimchi (Korean pickles) and when they were out to sea, they ate rice, pickles and some fish which could not be sold. All the fish that can be sold are turned over to Japanese trading companies. The food costs per day for Korean fishermen are 170 to 210 yen, while for Japanese they are 910 yen, plus as much fish as they want to eat. According to the collective bargaining agreement in Japan, it is required that in addition to fish, they have to have three other dishes from land. "The personnel cost for a Japanese fisherman is 7 million yen. For a Korean fisherman it is 2.1 million yen,"

according to one source in Japan.

However, the captains get good salaries. They make over 15 million yen per year, "more than we get," according to one Japanese captain. Besides, in the Korean boats, the captain's authority is absolute. Japanese sailors are surprised at the severe discipline. "I shuddered when I saw a captain beat a sailor with a rod," said one man. "I also saw them lined up on the deck early in the morning and beaten." A nurse who was dispatched by a Japanese insurance company said that "among the Korean patients, there are many who have been beaten by their captain."

A young Japanese man who grew up in a land of plenty in Japan and now resides in Los Palms said, "I think their conditions must be very similar to Japan before the war. Perhaps that's inevitable when a country is accumulating capital for development....."

(Asahi Shimbun, Dec. 21, 1976)

II. Tragedy in Korea's Coastal Waters

SEOUL -- A small wooden South Korean fishing boat, spotted off the west coast of Japan and taken in tow by the Japanese Maritime Agency last month, was found to carry the bodies of its 15-man crew. The partly decomposed remains were cremated in the Japanese port city of Niigata and the ashes sent to South Korea.

As the two neighbouring countries are separated only by a narrow ocean strait, it is not uncommon for South Korean fishermen in trouble to be rescued or helped in other ways by Japanese ships. But the tragic fate of this 27-ton boat dramatised the plight of about 300,000 village fishermen in South Korea who still depend on traditional operations for their living.

Those 15 dead fishermen were a small group in the 350 fishermen who were lost, presumed drowned, last month while fishing some 360 miles off the Korean east coast port of Sokcho.

The fleet of small - under 100 tons - and poorly equipped boats should not have gone so far from home. But like their ill-fated colleagues, most small-scale South Korean fishermen increasingly risk their lives by going far from land as fish become scarce in coastal waters. As of the end of last year, according to official statistics, more than 90 % of South Korea's 67,600 fishing boats were employed in offshore fishing operations but they accounted for only 57% of the total catch. The average size of these ships was slightly less than 10 tons. Only about 20 % of them were motorised.

The total tonnage of the South Korean fishing fleet has increased by 147% during the past eight years, but that of remote fishing fleets increased nearly nine-fold to 353,055 tons during the period, with an average ship size of 428 tons. The implications seem clear. South Korea's small-scale fishermen have been overlooked in the preoccupation with building up deep-sea fishing fleets.

(Far Eastern Economic Review, December 10, 1976)

A MESSAGE TO ALL THE KOREAN PEOPLE

Jesus Christ threw away all his belonging and his crown and came down to this land to become himself one of the oppressed, confined, sick and poor, in order to liberate those oppressed people from all evil and to enable them to live freely and equally. For doing so, Jesus was put on a cross by Pilate, who was blinded by political interests. Those who condoned this evil were the priests and Pharisees, who clung to their power and could not love their neighbors. But Jesus forgave them and died for their sin in their place. He rose from the dead after three days and at the present time he is holding high the flag of freedom and is leading us.

We Christians believe that it is true life not only to confess Jesus Christ as our Lord but to follow his life style and to fulfill his mission for liberation from all evil.

Under the conditions existing in 1976, the legal and social systems threaten the basic rights, even the right to live of the people (cf. NCC Conference on Freedom of Mission). Though the people's voiceless cry rises up to Heaven, the cry of the prophets proclaiming truth is stopped and the very stones cry out. Government conducting its policies outside the purview of the people can do anything it likes without hindrance. These camouflaged conditions are instilling in the people a one-dimensional uniformity. The so-called high-growth economic development only increases the gap between rich and poor (cf. Tong-a Ilbo 10/23/76) and some giant comprador companies have brought about an economic situation of gross maldistribution by means of special financial privileges from the government.

Nevertheless the authorities make us feel as if the poor are rich, as if extremely rich people are reliable and as if this country has become a land of welfare. The GNP rate tells us that the economic development of the country is going higher, but the taxes from the people are growing faster than the GNP (Tong-a, 11/16) so that the actual rate of increase of income cannot equal it. Economic development applies only to a certain class of people (Tong-a, 10/7) and the total of the extremely large loans from foreign lands has reached over 10,300,000,000 dollars, which is 150,000 won per each person in Korea. The price of crops which the farmers harvest with great hardship does not even equal the cost of production (Tong-a, 10/27), and the cry of workers of textile companies like the Tong-il Textile Company depicts well how false the economic development of this country is.

The incredible oppression of taxes which go up every day has given rise to words like "tax of blood", "tax of bones" and "tax of life." It is difficult to believe what we are told, that the taxes are for freedom and the existence of the country. Recent incidents of tax evasion and the export of foreign currency by the elite reveal this clearly, as does the extreme amount of money paid in bribes to foreigners by Park Tong Sun, which derived from unlimited and absolute power, injustice and corruption. This is anti-national behavior carried out under conditions in which the people cannot see, cannot hear of know.

Under the present circumstances in Korea, which cannot possibly be fully described, Christians with consciences are imprisoned because of their actions to confess their Christian faith. Their actions out of their Christian belief are taken as communist, and the situation has become as though the anti-Christ himself had taken power.

As we stated in our resolution in the meeting in Mokpo last summer, we are and will be with the people and we will continue to advance our hope for glorious freedom. We send the following message to clarify this.

To all Korean Churches:

You received a call to freedom (Gal. 5:11). God wants the churches to be true churches -- to become one as the people's churches -- not as a tool of mission, but living a true life and witness for freedom and peace.

To the Alienated People:

God, who is the Creator and who is living today to reign over history, is with you who are poor and oppressed. (Lk. 6:21). God continues his work of creation at your living place through you, and accepting hardship tries to make your life more humane. God wants you to become unified and to look for your own human rights by your own strength as the subjects of God's work.

To Women:

When God created women, he created you equal to men. God wants you to take back your rights which have been taken from you. Moreover, remember that those who followed Jesus Christ till the very last and those who saw Jesus Christ for the first time after his resurrection were women. God orders you now to look for your rights, to fight and win over evil in this world and to secure peace.

To Youth:

Jesus Christ liberated us and made us free. Therefore, let us stand strong and not become slaves again (Gal. 5:1). Freedom is our given right. No one can take it away. This country will either live or die according to the behavior of young people. There are great numbers of oppressed, poor and sick people in this country and they are watching you with hope. Therefore, youth, drive away those evil spirits who would tame you to become slaves of sensual culture and fulfill your mission as prophets of the times. God wants you to follow and carry out God's action without becoming discouraged, for freedom, equality and human rights in this country.

Seoul District ROK Presbyterian Youth Association
Second Joint Christmas Worship Participants

JOINT DECLARATION

The severe sentences were declared this afternoon at two o'clock at Seoul's High Court upon those patriotic, conscientious Christian leaders who were related to the March 1st Declaration on National Democratic Salvation. We cannot but express our deep pain and dismay at these brutal sentences which were handed down in spite of severe world-wide criticism following the District Court's judgement. These eighteen persons acted upon their Christian conscience and out of their love toward their own people and nation, for the purpose of establishing true democracy in Korea. No one is allowed to judge their actions based upon their faith at the court. This sentence points to the fact that the political powers are suppressing the Christian conscience and are violating the freedom of mission of the Christian church.

We request that the President Park Chung Hee release all these eighteen people immediately. We also request our Japanese government which through neglecting to solve the Kim Dae Jung incident, indirectly participated in this judgement that it act responsibly to secure their release. The Japanese government should adopt its policy based upon the establishment of the human rights of the people. Especially in relation with South Korea, it should try to influence the South Korean government to change the present policy which oppresses Korean people.

Kim Chi Ha's sentence will be handed down on the New Year's Eve as though to avoid the attention of the world. Kim Chi Ha stood firmly on his Catholic faith. He considered the suffering of the people as his own. He spoke what these people wanted to speak. And the Korean authority is giving him the versict on suspicion of violating the anti-communism law. Many Christian leaders and theologians of the world confirmed that Mr. Kim's action was based upon his Christian faith. We too share their view and are determined to support Mr. Kim's struggle. We firmly believe that he is innocent.

December 29, 1976

JAPANESE COUNCIL FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE
(President: Soichi Morita)

EMERGENCY CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON KOREAN PROBLEMS
(Chairman: John M. Nakajima)

CATHOLIC FARMERS ASSOCIATION PROPOSAL

The Korean Catholic Farmers Association is organized and acts in accordance with the heart and will of God to actualize Jesus Christ's love, justice and peace in the life of farmers, to extend the rights and benefits due to farmers and to raise farmers' position economically, socially and culturally. We are doing our best so that farmers may become conscious of the importance of their position and role in producing food and raw materials for industry, and so that farmers may receive proper recompense for their hard labor as human beings with God-given dignity.

We must take seriously the need for our nation to become self-supporting in food production. We believe that encouraging farmers to increase production can become possible only by improving farmers' lives by guaranteeing the prices of agricultural products.

Proposal

In 1976, the average cost of production of 80 kg. of rice was 21,154 won for Tong-il rice and 30,267 for regular rice. For 80 percent of the farmers, the minimum production cost was 32,221 for Tong-il rice and 35,589 won for regular rice. To become self-supporting in food production and to increase farmers' incomes:

- 1) We propose to increase the price of rice to no less than 32,221 won for Tong-il rice and 35,589 won for regular rice.
- 2) We propose that farmers be paid for all of the 1976 harvest in cash.

October 25, 1976

(Editor's note: The wholesale rice price in Seoul as of December 10, 1976 was 25,000 won.)

Korea Communiqué

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CONTENTS:

- Editorial: Time to End Japan's Complicity in Korean Human Rights Violations
- Statement of Reason for Appeal - Yun Po Sun
- Japan-Korea Connections Investigated in Japanese Press
- "Open Letter to President Park" - Ham Sok Hon and Others
- Declaration of March First Defendants
- Other Developments in Korea:
 - 1,600 attend March First Mass in Seoul
 - Minority Party Holds Street Demonstration
 - Prof. Lee Moon Young on Hunger Strike in Prison
 - Workers Human Rights Declaration issued
- U.S. Groups Protest to Japanese Embassy about Korean Human Rights

TIME TO END JAPAN'S COMPLICITY IN KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan is guilty of supporting Asian dictatorships which systematically suppress human rights and violate human dignity. A structure of political privilege and payoff characterizes Japan's ties to South Korea, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. It is ironic that the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party's most corrupt and South Korean-implicated faction has emerged as Prime Minister in an election in which the Japanese electorate clearly asked for a government free of corruption. But such are the intricacies of Japanese internal party politics that the voice of the people can often be ignored with impunity for long periods.

As this issue of Korea Communiqué describes elsewhere, the Fukuda cabinet's ties with the Park Chung Hee regime in South Korea are so thick and interdependent that there is little if any hope that the government will allow a full investigation of the current KCIA bribery scandal to take place. The Lockheed scandal investigation has already been stopped midway, before the most important aspects were thoroughly examined. Reactions by Fukuda

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to the revelations about Japanese-Korean connections which have been voiced recently in the U.S. leave little hope for a genuine effort to uncover facts or punish offenders.

Thus, it is ironic that Jimmy Carter, whose record so far on the issue of human rights has been admirable, has tied his Korea policy to Japan, and therefore, to the Fukuda government. Until Mr. Fukuda shows some sign of sincerity in investigating and undoing the 'black connections' with the Park Chung Hee regime, he should not be given veto power over U.S. policy on Korea. No amount of general statements of concern by Carter will suffice to clean up the structure of oppression unless he is willing to establish his own policy on Korea in the face of Tory opposition from Japan.

But the basic responsibility to stop the corrupt structure of privilege between Japan and Korea lies with the Japanese people. The demand for full investigation and prosecution of the guilty must be heard from broad sectors of the public, so that it becomes an inescapable responsibility of Mr. Fukuda's administration.

Unless this investigation proceeds swiftly, Japan will find itself, with South Korea, isolated and condemned internationally. Whatever his intentions, President Carter has shown himself sensitive to the most elemental demand of our time--the recovery of rights to a humane life by the common people of the earth. This demand, rising in an unbroken crescendo from the oppressed peoples of the impoverished and exploited parts of the earth, is the central historical trend of today. But by ignoring these trends, the Fukuda government is isolating itself from history, from the main world political currents and most important, from the moral demands of conscience, which insist that those who exercise power do so with justice. This moral cowardice and expediency will only serve to bring further difficulties to Japan in its international relations, adding to the complaints that Japanese are only "economic animals," to say nothing of the awful cost for the people of South Korea and elsewhere. The time is long past due for the people of Japan to insist that their government reflect greater concern for Japan's pride, dignity and participation in the human community.

STATEMENT OF REASON FOR APPEAL -- YUN PO SUN

On January 28, 1977, former President Yun Po Sun presented the following appeal to the supreme court. It has been widely hailed as a new charter for the democratic opposition in South Korea.

In response to the ruling of the Seoul Higher Court on December 29, 1976, I am bringing my final appeal before this court and would like to explain the reasons for my action.

Preface

We make this appeal not because we expect to receive a fair hearing from the Supreme Court. In a staged trial under the dictatorial Yushin Laws, we can only be found guilty.

We have already been found guilty in both the first and second trials. It would be foolish indeed to expect to be pronounced innocent by judges who have been appointed by Mr. Park Chung Hee after we have demanded that Park Chung Hee remove himself from office.

Nevertheless, we are innocent. A court of truth, a court of conscience, or a court of the people would have judged us to have been right. And in the near future the court of history will find that we were right. In the March 1, 1976 "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation," we called for a restoration of democracy, for an economy independent of foreign control, for a revival of national honor, and for sincere efforts toward the unification of the two Koreas. I was convinced then, and I remain convinced today, that this is the only way we can survive as a nation. At this point, in the spirit of that March 1 Declaration I would like to state my views regarding the urgent problems we face today. I claim no gift of eloquence. However, as an old man whose death may come at any moment, I cordially request that my remarks be taken as an expression of my love for our country.

The Park Regime Must Leave

By the May 16, 1961 military coup d'etat the Park regime frustrated the freedom and democratic revolution gained by our people at such sacrifice in blood and suffering. The regime has continued its usurpation of power by illegally amending the constitution to permit Park a third term and by holding four rigged and dishonest elections.

In October 1972 the Park regime brought our democracy to a brutal end. Discarding the previous constitution like a scrap of paper, it declared martial law and imposed the Yushin Constitution upon us with tanks and bayonets.

Abusing the power derived from such arbitrary laws as the Anti-Communist Law, the National Security Law, the Insurgency Control Law and the Presidential Emergency Decrees, the Park administration has fabricated numerous so called treason cases. Through intimidation, the regime has made political prisoners out of many patriotic students and honest dissidents. The horror of the torture invariably inflicted upon these innocent men and women is unspeakable. The government has deprived the entire populace of the most basic human freedoms--the right to see, hear and speak. It has trampled on freedom of conscience, freedom of academic research, freedom of worship, freedom from arbitrary detention, and freedom from execution on fabricated charges. Under such a degrading system the people lost their right to live as human beings. This is the first reason why we are opposed to the Park regime.

In 1965 the Park regime silenced popular opposition with the threat of martial law and "normalized" relations with Japan under humiliating terms. Rejecting self-reliant economic development, the administration has subordinated our economy to foreign interests. To perpetuate its corrupt power the regime expediently surrendered our political, economic, military and cultural independence to Japan. The Park regime even encourages, as a state policy to gain foreign currency, Korean women to prostitute themselves as whores to Japanese tourists. The government's foreign policy is characterized by dependency, prostitution and bribery. This disgraceful perform-

ance has stripped the Korean people of all pride and self-respect and isolated our nation from the international community. This is the second reason why we are opposed to the Park regime.

National unification is the supreme goal of all Koreans. However, the Park administration has manipulated this aspiration in order to remain in power. The government has never allowed the people to have a voice in this crucial matter. It has sought neither unification nor peace because Park's dictatorial rule can only be maintained by perpetuating the division of the peninsula and by creating war tensions. The opening of dialogue between the North and South in 1972 was welcomed with enthusiasm by the entire population. It gave promise that our perennial aspirations might finally be achieved. However, the Park regime betrayed our hopes and used the negotiations as a pretext to impose the Yushin system. Park Chung Hee declared that we were in a state of emergency and followed the Yushin Constitution with hundreds of "war-time" decrees. By this cynical manipulation the people's basic freedoms were ruthlessly repressed. This is the third reason why we are opposed to the Park regime.

Even if the Park administration had not committed these acts, there is yet one more reason why we must speak out against it. According to recent disclosures overseas, for several years the Park government has been paying enormous bribes to politicians, businessmen and journalists in the United States and Japan to purchase support for its dictatorial rule.

The regime is attempting to hide these facts from the people. We are outraged that U.S. leaders took these bribes and condoned Park's oppression. We demand that the U.S. government conduct a thorough investigation and reveal the whole truth to the Korean public. I must also point out our indignation that some corrupt Japanese leaders are giving material aid to the Park regime thereby enabling it to suppress the Korean people. We are astonished and disgusted at the filthy methods Park has used to cling to power while boasting at every opportunity that he was ending subservience to foreign powers, corruption in the bureaucracy and moral degeneration. This is the true nature of the "Korea-style democracy" so earnestly advocated by the authorities.

The Park regime must step aside immediately. We can no longer live under its rule because it has sullied the nation's honor and made Koreans a servile people unable to face the rest of the world.

Park Chung Hee has ruled for sixteen years. During that time dictatorship, corruption, and violations of human rights have grown worse each year. Pollution, high taxes, inflation and the gap between the rich and poor have all become more intolerable. Our economy is more heavily dependent on foreign capital than ever. Our foreign debts have swollen while our laborers work under increasingly harsh conditions. We may ask what has decreased during these years? The answer is our democratic rights, our national pride, social justice and the prospects for peace and unification on the Korean peninsula.

As long as the Park regime remains in power, freedom, democracy, peace and unification will be impossible. If we drift along with Park Chung Hee, Koreans have no future.

The Yushin System must be abolished and Democracy restored

Forced upon us with tanks, bayonets and martial law, Park's so-called Revitalizing Reforms (Yushin) are a system of violence and absolute authoritarianism. Since the inception of the Yushin system, repression has steadily intensified, resulting in a palpable hostility between the ruler and ruled. Our nation finds itself daily more estranged from our friends and allies. The dialogue with the North has been disrupted and the danger of war has grown. To solve the present national crisis, to recover our inalienable rights, and to bring our country closer to a truly independent and peaceful unification, we must implement the ideals of democracy in the political, economic and other aspects of our national life. A broad consensus of sensible people in this land recognizes that this is our only alternative. The following steps should be taken without delay.

(1) The Park regime must announce that the Yushin Constitution has had no legal validity from its very inception and that the Presidential Emergency Decrees are therefore also null and void. An interim government must be formed to conduct a general election open to widespread popular participation. A fair election campaign with free discussion of the issues must be assured. The new government created through this election must promptly establish a truly democratic constitutional system in which basic human rights and the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers are scrupulously guaranteed.

(2) All political prisoners must be released at once, all political trials fabricated by the Park regime must be invalidated, and all investigations of political fugitives must be terminated immediately. The Surveillance Law must be abrogated at once. This anachronistic law deprives political prisoners of their civil rights under the guise of being a security measure.

(3) All repressive practices--torture, arrest without warrant, detention without trial, illegal interrogation, police intimidation, surveillance and abduction--must be stopped at once. The state agency that has constantly used these tactics must be disbanded.

(4) Freedom of political dissent, freedom of speech, freedom of academic research, and the independence of the judiciary must be unequivocally guaranteed. The students, professors, journalists and judges who have been expelled from their schools or forced out of their professions because they criticized the authorities must all be reinstated. Religious freedom must be guaranteed and all government machinations to control religion must be ended.

(5) All citizens must be assured lives of dignity. The legal and extralegal restrictions presently imposed upon the labor movement must be lifted. Agricultural cooperatives must be freed from official interference. The management of cooperatives must be returned to the farmers themselves. Industrial workers, farmers, fishermen, and slum dwellers must be guaranteed the right to speak, organize and act in their own interests.

Peaceful Unification Must be based upon Democracy

More than three decades have elapsed since Korea was unilaterally divided by foreigners and two hostile regimes came into being. All the

tragic sufferings of our people stem from this division of our country. As long as our fatherland remains split in two, we will never be free from foreign interference, dictatorship and the possibility of a war fomented by illegitimate leaders for their own purposes. Many grim and arduous experiences have taught us this fundamental truth about the division of Korea. The Korean people must once again be reunited into one nation through the three cardinal principles of peace, reconciliation and rejection of foreign interference. The following considerations are, I believe, imperative for unification.

(a) The common people, not the rulers, must be the driving force that resolves the problems between the two Koreas. Rulers are concerned only with the perpetuation of their own power and privileges. It is the ordinary people in the North and the South who really want peace and unification. Only when the people themselves become participants in the North-South dialogue will unification be achieved.

(b) Therefore, the democratic process, in which the people's participation and free expression are guaranteed, is an essential condition for unification. National security must be predicated upon the security of each individual. National security which denies the individual's security will serve only to perpetuate dictatorial one-man rule.

(c) The purpose of the American military presence in Korea was, first, to serve as a deterrent against aggression by the dictatorship in the North. Secondly, it was to defend the democratic values which the U.S. and the Republic of Korea are both committed to uphold, namely liberty and basic human rights.

We must wonder if the American military presence in Korea enhances individual security and human rights or, as the bribery scandal suggests, merely contributes to the stability of the Park dictatorship. If their purpose is not the affirmation of democratic values, why should Koreans desire the continued stationing of American troops in our country?

(d) Our friendship with the U.S. and Japan must be based on an affirmation of democratic values and practices mutually shared by the three countries. Our relations with these two states, however, should never thwart unification or prolong the division of Korea. That relationship must not impede our talks with the North or render assistance to reactionary anti-democratic forces here.

(e) If these conditions are fulfilled, reconciliation with the North will become easier, prospects for national consolidation will become brighter and the road to reunification will become broader. The use of tactical nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war on the Korean peninsula is anathema to all Koreans, North and South. We must be determined as Koreans not to join the nuclear arms race and not to resort to nuclear retaliation.

(f) A new threat to our hopes for peaceful and independent national unification now looms on the horizon. It is the ominous move by Park to seek a military alliance with ultra-rightist elements in Japan in the name of "cooperation for security." Japan already dominates our country economically and politically. This "Korea-Japan Security Cooperation" will give Tokyo military control as well. Our people will never stand for this.

We must realize that security cooperation is a conspiracy to strengthen the present dictatorship and keep our nation permanently split. It has nothing to do with individual security in the sense of enhancing democratic ideals. The result will be external intervention in our political process, which violates the principle of achieving "independent unification without foreign interference." Koreans might be permanently separated and war would become more possible as a solution to the frustrating dilemma. The consequences to Japan are equally dire. Right wing elements bent on rearmament and expansionism would be strengthened and democracy would suffer a serious setback. Korean and Japanese cooperation must rest on shared democratic values. Otherwise, the peoples of Korea and Japan will have to oppose any spurious cooperation with every resource at their command. A common front in opposition to this dangerous trend will be necessary.

Creation of a National Coalition Against the Park Regime

Under the realities Koreans face today, our efforts to achieve democracy, independence and unification are interwoven. These goals cannot be attained singly; they are each part of the same struggle. Unless our people are the driving force in the democratization of our history, independent unification is a lost cause.

Therefore, our greatest task is how to oppose the Park regime's one-man rule. We need to organize an "Anti-Park, Democratic National Unification People's Coalition" to lead this struggle. We cannot win by words alone, be they the words of prominent individuals uttered in the name of nominal organizations devoid of substance or the militant statements of opposition parties which lack any real following. Experience shows that we will triumph only with the widespread participation of the people. Thus we urge the formation of a broad coalition.

Anyone who loves our country and is concerned with the future of the Korean people can participate in this common front. It is especially important that government employees, the police, and Korean Central Intelligence Agency personnel be able to join with us. They are as oppressed as the general public; they should want the same things we do. We do not expect instant success. Such a broad coalition cannot be rapidly organized or quickly attract a huge following. Nor will the struggle evolve in perfect unity without organizational and leadership difficulties. It is our task to overcome these difficulties. Each group and class should use every meeting and occasion to call for the overthrow of the Park administration and the democratic unification of all Koreans. Such a common struggle will inevitably triumph.

Conclusion

I have stated my views on the spirit of the "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" and direction we should move. However, the Supreme Court will not really consider these opinions and will probably rule the defendants guilty as in the earlier trials. Yet if the Supreme Court would inquire into all the Emergency Decree violations, including the March 1, 1976 case, and render a fair judgement consistent with the judges' conscience, the court would find that the Emergency Decrees themselves are invalid. They derive their "legality" from the Yushin Constitution which is itself spurious because the former constitution was improperly revised.

Furthermore, the Yushin Constitution was promulgated against the popular will and was not voluntarily approved by the public. The document is no more than a dictatorial charade concocted by Park Chung Hee behind a shield of illegal violence. The Yushin Constitution is totally null and void.

January 28, 1977

Appellant: Yun Po Sun

WEEKLY PRESS PROBES CORRUPT JAPAN-KOREA TIES

A steady flow of exposures of corrupt ties between Japanese business and political leaders and Park Chung Hee's regime has become a regular feature of the weekly newsmagazines of Japan. There is not space to fully cover the flow, but some of the more noteworthy articles are summarized below, to indicate the growing public concern in Japan about the rotten structure that keeps in power both the Tories in Japan and Park Chung Hee in Korea.

Black Mist surrounds Japan-Korea Legislators Assembly

The Asahi Journal has for several weeks published articles about the Korea connections with the Fukuda cabinet. On March 4, an article signed by the editors titled, "The Shameless Connection Deepens," described the background of the recently concluded Japan-Korea Legislators Assembly. Pointing to recent events in Korea, the authors noted that "it was not," as one participant admitted, "a very good time to have such a meeting."

* On December 6, 1976, LEE HAK SU, president of Koryo Deep Sea Fishing Co., South Korea's largest deep-sea fishing firm, was arrested for illegally transferring funds to Japan.

* Next, on December 23, PAEK SUNG PIN, president of Taepyung Yon Hap Co., was arrested on suspicion of having illegally profited \$7.8 million in two years from watering fertilizer imports from the U.S. and Canada. The President of Korea Air Lines, CHO CHUNG HUN and three other businessmen were also arrested but not taken into custody, for having deposited \$1 million of this money in a secret account in Los Angeles. SUMITOMO, one of Japan's giant trading firms, was the U.S. agent for these transactions and is under suspicion also.

* On February 5, 1977, five officials of the Il Hwa Pharmaceutical Co., one of MOON SUN MYUNG's companies related to the Unity Movement, were arrested for tax evasion of ₩5.9 billion. MOON, president of the company, was not arrested, presumably because he is in the U.S.

* On February 12, a prominent National Assembly member, HONG BYUNG CHOL, was also arrested in connection with the fertilizer scandal.

All these men, LEE HAK SU, PAEK SUNG PIN, CHO CHUNG HUN, MOON SUN MYUNG, and HONG BYUNG CHOL, have been closely identified with President Park Chung Hee until recently. All have been named in the U.S. or Japan as key figures

in KCIA plots against the U.S. Congress or in the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping. HONG BYUNG CHOL, until recently expected to be part of the Korean Assemblymen's delegation to the meeting in Japan, had been mentioned in the Japanese Diet five days before his arrest, on February 7, as part of the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping plot.

Also, new questions have emerged about suspicious payments and political ties related to the construction of Seoul's subway system. According to information made public in Japan recently, South Korea paid 20% more than the domestic price for the subway cars, for a difference of ¥2 billion. This presumably was paid to government officials of one or both countries. The matter is now under investigation by opposition Diet members in Japan.

In spite of this storm of arrests and scandals, the Japan-Korea Parliamentarians Assembly was held as scheduled in Tokyo in late February. Some 38 assemblymen from Seoul were joined by a varying number of Japanese Diet members for several days of talks. Reporters were excluded, but from the joint communique it could be guessed that the primary agenda was how to counter the moves made by the U.S. president on military withdrawal (and human rights?).

ROK expectations for the conference could be guessed from the make-up of the delegation's leadership. KIM CHUNG PIL, former Prime Minister apparently out of favor since last year, led the group, together with LEE BYUNG HI, former KCIA Seoul Branch Chief under Kim and currently the man popularly regarded as Park Chung Hee's "Minister for Japan affairs." Prominent also was KIM SANG YOONG, banker and assemblyman central to the plans for the KIDC (Korea Industrial Development Corporation) for which Korea hopes to secure major Japanese private capital, and KWAN IL, close associate of Machii Hisayuki, the Japanese right-wing gangster of Korean background, and former director of Mindan (Korean Residents Association) in Japan. These were "the four top members of ROK's Japan operation," according to Asahi Journal.

Details of the discussion were not revealed, but one right-wing LDP diet member said the Koreans "went home very happy."

Joint Oil Exploration New Source of Official Payoffs?

One of the subjects on the agenda was the proposed treat for joint oil exploration of the continental shelf between Korea and Japan. Yoko Kitazawa, in the same issue of Asahi Journal, discusses the structure of vested interests pushing this billion-dollar boondoggle.

In 1968, ECAFE (Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, UN) reported that oil discovery was likely in the East China Sea continental shelf area, a region claimed variously by China, Taiwan, Japan and Korea. Although the likelihood of oil in the zone closest to Japan was small, the Japanese and ROK governments pencilled an agreement in January, 1974, five months after the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping, to undertake joint exploration. The ROK National Assembly ratified the agreement immediately, but it bogged down in the Japanese Diet due to opposition party pressure. Twice the LDP has tried to secure its passage. Now, Prime Minister Fukuda has sworn to put all his efforts into this treaty.

Why such efforts, if the likelihood of discovering oil is so small? The answer lies in the nature of the controls and governmental provisions in the treaty, which give plenty of margin for payoffs. The Korean Government has turned exploration over to Caltex and Phillips Oil Co. The Japanese side gave its contract to Nihon Oil Development Co., which has contractual ties to Caltex. The Japanese Government is to underwrite exploration costs at 70% of the total, whether or not oil is ever found, and on whatever terms are set between the ROK Government and the oil companies. Thus, as Kitazawa points out, "from the ¥500 billion fund provided by the Japanese government for oil exploration to Caltex and Phillips, a portion will surely be used to shore up the Park regime and a part will be returned to the Fukuda cabinet as political funds. The MNCs are interposed into a structure of corruption at a national level between Korea and Japan."

Further, if oil is discovered, the treaty stipulates it is the property of the oil companies, only 20% ownership of which is required to be even nominally in Korean hands. The ROK government will get only 12.5% royalties. Oil is to be marketed at prevailing rates to both countries. In other words, the Japanese people are being asked to finance an oil project which, even if it yields oil, will bring no control over that oil to Japan and give no guarantees of access or lower prices than those prevailing elsewhere. The only ones to gain are the oil companies and the politicians who are a party to the fixing of prices and terms.

This explains why the Fukuda cabinet has put all its energy into ratifying the "joint exploration treaty."

The Fukuda Cabinet -- the Korea Lobby in Power

Several of the weeklies and monthly have featured articles that described the extensive ties between the South Korean regime of Park Chung Hee and various members of the cabinet of Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda. One monthly, Hoseki, summarized these ties in an article exposing the multiple links between certain Japanese businessmen, politicians and the KCIA. According to this article, the following Ministers and Agency heads are key members of the Korea lobby in Japan:

Prime Min. Takeo FUKUDA, who succeeded Kishi Nobusuke as faction leader of the conservative party faction closest to Park Chung Hee;

Hideo BO, Minister of Finance, responsible for Fukuda's economic policies;

Ichiro HATOYAMA, Foreign Minister, in charge of the Continental Shelf Treaty ratification;

Tatsuo TANAKA, Fukuda faction chief for Korean affairs, and Minister of International Trade and Industry (MITI).

Other Ministers who are members of the Japan-Korea Parliamentarians Assembly, are Michio WATANABE, Min. of Welfare; Shiro HASEGAWA, Min. of Construction; Eiichi NISHIMURA, Administrative Agency chief; Tomoo MIHARA, Defense Agency chief, and Sosuke UNO, Chief of Science and Technology Agency.

The presence of such a large portion of Fukuda's cabinet in this partisan group on Korea guarantees that the ties of corruption will be further strengthened during the life of the Fukuda government.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT PARK CHUNG HEE

The following letter was written by Ham Sok Hon and former President Yun Po Sun. It was intended to be circulated to a large number of elder statesmen and religious figures for signatures, but before it could be signed it was confiscated by KCIA.

March 1st, 1977

Today on this significant anniversary of the March First Independence Movement, we who are concerned about the future of our nation have decided to give some advice to Your Excellency in deep sincerity. When the military coup of May 16 (1961) occurred, You promised publicly to the people that the military which was supposed to remain behind the scene, had only risen up to save the nation from a great crisis. However, you have oppressed the people for the last 16 years and carried out dictatorial rule. The result is that our fatherland today is not only still in crisis, but also its destiny is in a greater danger, now the people indeed not only have had to suppress their true feelings, but they have also had to suffer great pain and anger throughout. However, this state of affairs has reached its limits. If Your Excellency continues to hold on to power any longer, we do not know what kind of situation will arise, and when chaos will ensue throughout the land. We are delivering these words to you from our tearful and painful hearts.

16 Years of Failures

Your Excellency must realise that your 16 years' rule has gone down as failure. You preached the re-construction of the nation, but she ended up with one-man dictatorship. You have called for modernisation, but it drove the people into material production and it revived only feudalistic social evil in our society. When high-rise buildings were going up, there blew the wind of rotten corruption in the street in the shadow of those buildings. While the statistical numbers increased, there rapidly increased also the number of prisons and prisoners. You have proclaimed the New Village Movement (Saemaul Movement) and encouraged the renewal of old feudalistic moralities. Isn't this because you know about the moral erosion in our society? But it is like curing the leaves without curing the roots of the tree. How can the sick tree be cured without curing the roots? You have imposed the Yushin Revitalisation System and have said that the people are supporting you. Your factional power may have increased. However, the will of people was buried and hidden under the earth. This only quickens the disaster in the future. You are not considering the real support of the people. Instead, preservation of your power has become the sole foundation of your foreign policy. As the result, our nation is becoming despised internationally. Our innocent people are forced to experience great shame in this world. How many times have you changed the Constitution! But the result was the innocent sacrifice of innumerable students and workers. And there is no peace and safety in our society.

Because of these conditions, there occurred the March First Declaration last year. But you not only refused to listen to the word which was coming out of true patriotic hearts and out of religious conscience, but also you have hidden all the facts from the people and deceived people with false propaganda that the Declaration was to agitate people to overthrow the

government. With such criminal charges, you have tried to impose heavy sentences on those who were involved.

Nevertheless, you must know, the principle of justice and humanity is still alive, even though, it seems, our people in this nation have become blind and deaf and dumb. And thus the issue of Democracy and human rights in Korea has become an international concern throughout the world. While we are forced to remain completely uninformed domestically, the hidden political evils such as bribing U.S. Congressmen, bribing the Japanese Dietmen during the Korea-Japan meetings and the kidnapping of Mr. Kim Dae Jung have suddenly become exposed internationally. We have to conclude, therefore, that Heaven cannot be ignorant and heartless of the situation. We thought, your honor ought to repent about these things. We never thought of these things as somebody else's business. We are not captive of our private desires so as to feel good about the embarrassing situation of our government. Mistakes of yours are the very mistakes of ourselves. Your dishonor is our shame. The reason we are uttering these painful words is because we hope that your honor would be aware of the situation and lift all the oppressive policies in our land, release all the prisoners of conscience, comfort the people and transform our international relations with many nations in the world in order that the dignity of our nation may be restored and that our country as well as your honor can be blessed again. Nevertheless, you have ignored all our ardent appeals and advice, and you continue and even strengthen those policies. How could this be possible?

Your honor, under the present circumstances, there is no other way. There is only one. That is the way of honesty. Wrong policies must be admitted as wrong policies. And then the torn unity of will between yourself and the people can be reunited. These words are for your honor as well as for our nation.

Points Called for Repentance

It will take infinite time to enumerate every one of these things. But in order to remind you for your great repentance, we would like to point out a few important items, as follows:

1. Your honor has not been able to command love and respect from people. No matter how your underlings and your party members are loyal to you, that is not the same as love and respect from people. There must be a sense of unity between you and the nameless common people. Do you know the reason why our people do not like you? It is because you never want to approach people, never treat people with compassion. You never try to understand them. Has your honor ever tried to smile before the people? Have you ever mingled with people waving hands and shaking hands with people? Have you ever carried on a dialogue with people inquiring what their true aspirations are? Have you ever had such a humble and gentle mind and heart that the people could regard you as one of themselves. Even dictators of ancient times were with the people and shared together with people sometimes. How can you carry out good government and good rule while fearing the people, being afraid and suspicious of them and even despising them? True government is with people, it is not to drive the people according to one's own will.

2. You have never tried to understand our history deeply. Our people have not had an opportunity to develop normally for a long long time. They have suffered under turbulent political life and their spirit has been trampled. Therefore in order to create a new history with the people, their courageous struggle is absolutely required. That is the very meaning of new history. Nevertheless, you have never thought of renewing the vitality and spirit of people, but simply tried to shackle them and drive them. The reason there is such chaos, corruption and rampant distrust in this society is because people do not have ways to freely create their own future. One's own personal dignity and sense of pride about one's own nation are more important than abundant material wealth. There should be a new courageous thought from our people in order for our nation to create a new history. But you have plucked out the new buds of thought, instead of liberating them from old shackles and vitalising them for the future.

Because of this, your honor has failed in employing people in the government. Today, there are so many greedy and cunning people around you, but no one who has profound philosophy and a noble personality. Please reflect upon these things. Where are your original comrades today? Are they nearby you now? What has happened to those who have been loyal to you? Was there even one who can speak to you the truth frankly when a problem arises, even at the risk of his life? You are indeed very lonely. The government cannot be run by one man. The true politician is one who knows how to use the people's wisdom and strength.

3. Your honor has not understood the great streams of world history. It is needless to say so in many words, but the international situation of our country at the present time indicates this clearly.

4. Finally your honor did not rightly understand religion. Humanity is a spiritual existence. It is never satisfied with material things alone. Your honor has underestimated human beings and therefore believed wrongly that human beings can be controlled by force alone. The methods your honor has employed to gain the hearts of people have been the very wrong notions of worshipping money and worshipping power, and you have underestimated the protest and the rising up of the religious conscience. You have believed that if you have money and power, then you can easily handle the criticism and protests of intellectuals and religious people. This has led yourself and our country into a great tragedy. However, you must know these things very clearly. The reason why there is protest is not because there are protesters, but there is a cosmic truth among those people who are protesting. Is there any power in human history that has not perished under the protests of such people?

You Should Resign Taking Responsibilities

Today, Korea has become the focus of international opinion. This may not be solely due to your mistakes. This is not merely the failure of our people. It is because the self-authenticating conscience of mankind has arisen. It is also because there is an eternal principle that governs the evolution of cosmos. You should not handle these things lightly.

It is a blessing to correct one's own faults by taking responsibilities personally. Your honor is in a position which represents the sover-

eighty of our people. Your honor has taken this particular position by force rather than being entrusted with it by the people. Therefore, you should not be hesitant to take the whole responsibility. We tried to recognise your righteous feeling at the time of the May 16 military coup. If your honor is fully concerned about the eternal future of our people and our country, then this is the time that you must resign from your post with great courage so that the people may execute their duty to change misfortune into blessing. If this happens, our country as well as yourself will come to the day when we rejoice together. If this does not take place, the cruel principle of history will judge us, and your honor and our country will have to face a great tragedy. We earnestly pray that such tragedy will not occur.

The People who have signed this letter are not known except the former President Yun Po Sun and Quaker leader Ham Suk Hon.

DECLARATION

Issued by nine persons convicted but not imprisoned for the March 1, 1976 Declaration.

It has been 58 years since the March 1st Independent Movement, and has been one year since we announced the declaration for the democratic salvation of the nation on March 1st, 1976. Nine persons out of eighteen who were prosecuted for this incident are still in prison. When we think about these people who are fighting the severe cold and spending the long long days and nights in the icy prison with the ceiling and the wall covered with frost, we cannot help feeling pain which cuts our flesh and whittles our bones. We cannot bear the sinful feeling and burden of being outside of the prison. Therefore we declare our collective will as follows:

1. We are innocent.

It was clearly proved through the first and the second trial and by their results that our motives and the purposes of the March 1st Declaration last year were not to capture political power nor start a people's uprising, as the public prosecutors said. The prosecutors insisted that the Declaration distorted the truth, but they can present no concrete evidence that it did. It is rather they who distort truth and lay the crime on us. We declare here again that what we advocated in the Declaration is true.

We are only taking over the spirit of March 1st [Independent Movement in 1919] and with love for our country and for our people we manifested our religious conscience as Christians who respect our God-given freedom and human rights. We insist that we are innocent.

2. Release all political prisoners.

Release all the political prisoners, not just the nine people who are in prison out of the March 1st Incident but all those democratic people, poets and students and all persons of conscience in this land, and brighten

the future of our country.

In 1919 even under Japanese imperialism the sentences that 33 representatives of the March 1st Independent Movement received were 3 years at the most, and for students who were studying in Japan and announced the Independence Declaration in Tokyo, the longest sentence was one year. When we consider this, is it not too severe and tragic that our own people are sentenced so heavily by persons of our own country for advocating real freedom and democracy of our own nation? Especially this year, the whole world has made it a "year to release prisoners of conscience" and the desire of the human conscience for human rights, freedom and peace is blowing to each corner of the world like a wild wind. At this time, in order to avoid being stigmatized as an immoral society, and being isolated from the international society, we have to correct the absurd situation in which people who think, speak and act according to their conscience are imprisoned. We have to secure freedom so that everyone can think, speak and act according to their conscience without worry.

We believe that the release of the "conscience" of this land, and securing the means for people to care and participate today and tomorrow freely and independently, are the only way which people can remain living today and create our nation's future with pride.

We will never stop the struggle for justice, freedom and peace until the imprisoned "conscience" of this land is released.

February 28, 1977

Yun Po-sun, Chong Il-hyun, Lee Tae-Young,
Ham Sck-hon, Lee Oo-jong, Lee Hae-dong,
Ahn Byong-mu, Chang Dok-pil,
Kim Sung-hun

1,600 ATTEND 3.1 MASS IN SEOUL

In the evening of March 1st at Myong Dong Cathedral where the "Declaration for the Democratic Salvation of the Nation" was made public a year ago, Catholic people held a Prayer Meeting for Political Prisoners on the Anniversary of the March 1st Declaration. About 1,600 people, which is more than last year, gathered at the Cathedral to reassert their commitment to the Declaration and pray for the release of the prisoners.

The Cathedral was surrounded by plain-clothed policemen and even inside there were KCIA people watching. During the mass it was reported that 13 Fathers in Wonju, Kwangju, Mokpo, Chongju, Taejon, Pusan, Chunchon and Chongsong had disappeared.

FIRST DEMONSTRATION SINCE EMERGENCY RULE:

250 MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION PARTY TAKE TO THE STREETS

Seoul - March 5

The central standing committee of the Democratic Unification Party held a meeting at its head office in the center of Seoul today. After the meeting the members started a demonstration with the Party leader, Yang Il-dong in the lead, crying out slogans. The demonstration was met by a large contingent of plain-clothed policemen at the gate, a struggle begun and was finally stopped with the arrest of three leaders including Yang Il-dong and the director of the international section. Nevertheless this was the first open demonstration in the center of Seoul city under Emergency Decree No. 9 which strictly prohibits meetings and demonstrations.

The Democratic Unification Party set up a speaker outside the office window on the 3rd floor and called out, "President Park who rules by secret police and violence, should resign immediately". Since it was early Saturday afternoon in the center of the city, some people stopped and watched from a distance. The policemen tried to seize the speaker by using a ladder truck. A fight with party members ensued.

Earlier, in the Party meeting today, the Democratic Unification Party adopted the following resolution:

In order to show what freedom and democracy are to the North Korean people who are fighting against the hereditary dictatorship by a Communist group, we have to relieve the present tension in South Korea.

For doing this,

- 1) Remove the Presidential Emergency Decree.
- 2) Release all the democratic prisoners.
- 3) Free the press and political activities.
- 4) Unify the power of all the democratic opposition.

With this resolution they also published a "message to our people", the content of which is similar to the resolution.

PROF. LEE MOON YOUNG ON HUNGER STRIKE IN PRISON

Seoul - March 5

Prof. Lee Moon Yong, former professor of Korea University now in Seoul prison sentenced to three years' imprisonment out of the incident of the "Declaration for the Democratic Salvation of the Nation", met his family in March 4 and said to his wife, "I carried out a hunger strike demanding the better treatment of the political prisoners at the end of last year, but nothing improved since then. I will go on a hunger strike again from 5th even if it means my death. If I die, please bury me in Galilee Church. Please bring up our children well".

Prof. Lee fasted for a week at the beginning of November last year and presented 18 items of demand [see Korea Communique No 5] for better treatment of political prisoners. After his hunger strike, a heater was supplied to an unhealthy prisoner but most of the demands have not been accepted yet, so Prof. Lee resolved to go on hunger strike again.

WORKERS HUMAN RIGHTS DECLARATION ISSUED

Seoul - March 10

In the evening of March 10, 1,500 christians and workers held a meeting at Myong Dong Cathedral, in spite of the Law which prevents anti-government meetings, and announced the "the declaration for workers' human rights" to demand democratic reform including the removal of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9 which was issued in 1975.

Among the attendants were the wife of former President Yun Po Sun and the wife of Kim Dae Jung. When the declaration was announced a storm of applause broke out.

After the meeting as the people walked out from the Cathedral they cried out "Release political prisoners" and "Remove Emergency Decree No.9". There were some tens of plain clothed policemen watching inside and around the Cathedral but no one was arrested.

The outline of the workers' declaration is as follows:

1. Remove Emergency Decree No. 9 which was issued in 1975.
1. Workers are deprived of our basic human rights and forced to bear inhuman pain under the pretense of national security and economic development. Remove the Special Decree issued in 1971 which illegalized the right to strike and collective bargaining.
1. Some leaders of labor unions conspire with managers and help oppress the workers. Guarantee at least 30,000 won [US\$ 60] for our monthly pay.

U.S. GROUPS PROTEST TO JAPANESE EMBASSY ABOUT KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IS GUILTY OF:

1. THE COMPLICITY IN THE "ELIMINATE KIM DAE JUNG" SCHEME OF THE PARK DICTATORSHIP.

We now know that the Japanese government under Tanaka quietly conspired with Korean CIA in Kim's abduction case. In recent months major Japanese news media reported extensively about the KCIA payment of millions of dollars to Tanaka and his political associates in exchange for the political settlement of the Kim case. We want to know why Prime Minister Fukuda is deadly silent to the serious charges of crime

committed by the Japanese government against the democratic leaders in South Korea.

2. THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BY JAPANESE BUSINESSES IN SOUTH KOREA

The aggressive Japanese Zaibatsu (financial conglomerates) gained fame as "economic animal" around the world over the years, particularly in developing countries. One country where the Japanese operatives can manipulate the native economy with an absolute absence of protest from the host government is South Korea. But the Koreans are not silent. Listen to this:

"Temporary Girl Workers"

We work for enough to live on each day,
Without a day off, like the Labor Law say,
But the price of noodles, twelve hours' work don't pay
So, change our working conditions. Hay!

Fellow workers, get it together ...
Fellow workers, rise up together ...

From Letters from South Korea by T.K.

Stop atrocity against our laboring brothers and sisters in Korea.

3. COLLUSION WITH THE PARK DICTATORSHIP WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF PARK'S POWER.

The Nixon Doctrine, i.e. Asian defense by Asians, gave good excuse for the Japanese military establishment to re-arm itself. The Japanese government interprets the Nixon Doctrine as "defense of Asia by Japan in cooperation with Dictator Park and the like." Let us ask: Defense for whom and for what? What about the human rights of the people in those countries?

WE DEMAND THE FUKUDA REGIME

TO RESTORE THE SAFE CONDUCT OF KIM DAE JUNG IN JAPAN. ANSWER TO THE INDICTMENT OF THE JAPANESE PRESS INVOLVING KCIA BRIBERY IN JAPAN.

TO STOP ECONOMIC INFILTRATION INTO SOUTH KOREA. IMPROVE THE SUBSTANDARD WAGE PAID TO KOREANS BY THE JAPANESE BUSINESSES. RECTIFY THE SUB-HUMAN WORKING CONDITIONS, OR GET OUT.

TO END POLITICAL TIES TO THE PARK DICTATORSHIP. COMMIT NO CRIMES AGAINST THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE.

February 26, 1977

THE UNITED MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IN
KOREA-NORTH AMERICA

NORTH AMERICAN COALITION FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS IN KOREA

* Presented to Japanese Embassy, Washington D.C.

Korea Communiqué

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KOREAN STUDENT PROTESTS ON THE RISE

The students of South Korea, silent since May 13, 1975 when Presidential Decree No. 9 came into effect, have begun to defy the government openly. A rising mood of student unrest is noticeable on campuses throughout the country. The following reports partially describe the new militance:

March 18, Seoul National University

About six hundred students gathered on the suburban campus of Seoul National University on the afternoon of March 28th, holding placards aloft calling for the end of the Student Defense Corps, the restoration of the student council, freedom of speech and the removal of the Emergency Decree. Pamphlets were distributed with the text of a declaration which was read aloud to the gathering. About 200 copies were distributed before plain-clothed policemen, together with some professors and other university staff, moved in to break up the demonstration. However, the students were able to continue their meeting for about forty minutes before police reinforcements arrived by bus to stop it by force.

Student demonstrations had been held at Seoul National University in October and December last year, but this was the first meeting since the new semester started. As the anniversary of the Student Revolution, April 19, approaches, it is noteworthy that students' resistance along with that of Christians is increasing and may change the Korean political situation in the near future, according to Japanese press reports.

The text of the pamphlet was as follows:

Declaration for National Democratic Salvation

Dear student friends, who have always set our history aright whenever Korea was in crisis--

The firm pulse of the April Revolution orders us now solemnly to stand up to censure and correct the present evil reality. In our nation, a dictatorship has falsified freedom and democracy and violated the basic

CONTENTS :

Student Protests Increasing
KNCC Human Rights Office Raided; Staff, Others Arrested
Supreme Court Confirms March First Verdicts
Another Cry for National Salvation
Cardinal Kim Condemns Supreme Court Decision
March First Defendants Transferred to Local Prisons
Lee Moon Young Kept in Total Darkness
Adviser of the Social Unification Party Released
PRP Prisoners' Wives Demand Public Re-trial
Chosun Ilbo Reporters Continue Struggle
School Textbook Profiteering Scandal
U.S. Congressional Team investigates Korean Human Rights
Why South Korea is a "Good Investment Climate"
KCIA Arrests Japan-based "Spies"
Criticism of Japan-Korea "Black Connection" Intensifies
Suspensions Raised re Plant Export to ROK
New Information, Allegations in Kim Dae Jung Kidnapping
Gulf Oil Stockholders Protest Korean Payoffs
New York Conference Calls for New U.S. Korea Polity

DOCUMENTS:

Charter for Democratic National Salvation
Declaration of Workers' Human Rights
Letter to President Park
Violations of Human Rights in Chonju Jail
Editorial: Is Carter Backing Down on Korean Human Rights?

rights of the people, while internationally our independence as a nation has become a fiction.

In universities, which used to be sanctuaries of freedom and truth, the independent activities of students have long since been curtailed and their freedom of speech oppressed by severe surveillance. Many democratic students cannot return to their universities and are still in prison.

Bureaucratic economic development dependent on foreign powers has created an authoritarian unjust situation in which such abuses as the unfair introduction of fertilizer production [see p.10] and the illegal import of luxurious furniture for a few rich. It is well known that the ROK government has distributed vast bribes to Japanese and U.S. high officials in order to contain the criticism of the Korean government when the discussion of human rights in Korea was raised widely overseas.

We solemnly declare that we will never retreat even one step, but will regain our lost basic rights and the right to live, aiming toward a new peaceful society.

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Resolution:

1. Dissolve the Student Defense Corps and forbid the surveillance of students which kills academic freedom.
2. Guarantee the basic rights, including the right to secure a life worthy of human beings.
3. Stop the suppression of free speech immediately. Journalists should join fully in the effort to regain their lost freedom of speech.
4. Free all those democratic people and students who are imprisoned. Return the students to the university.
5. Stop ridiculing the people by publishing suspicious statistics, and improve the people's real welfare.
6. Remove the comprador capitalists who made fortunes from foreign investment and financial deals, and who have benefitted from unfair tax system and who are living in luxurious ease.

April 4, Kwangju Presbyterian Youth

On the evening on April 4, about 100 youths were present in an Easter week prayer service for the Restoration of Democracy. When a statement was read calling for social and political reform, the release of political prisoners and the restoration of religious and press freedom and the freedom of assembly, two youth leaders were taken in by the police and detained in the Kwangju Police Station.

The next morning about 200 persons staged a march to the police station and a sit-in protest against the arrests.

April 7, Hankuk Theological Seminary

The students of Hankuk Theological Seminary held an anti government meeting on the 7th and read a resolution demanding Park Chung Hee's resignation.

About at 11 am, approximately 150 students gathered at the University chapel, and after reading and adopting the printed declaration, titled the "Declaration of Suffering," they sang songs for the recovery of civil rights, including "Oh, freedom!" Some students were arrested by plain-clothed policemen.

The declaration demands the following:

1. The government should resign bearing responsibility for the present situation.
2. Establish the real democratic constitutional government with mutual independence of the three powers.
3. Reform the educational administration.
4. Remove the comprador investments and distribute the income evenly.

5. Consolidate the power of Christians to cope with the present situation.

Hankuk Theological Seminary is a Protestant university and is considered to be a base for groups critical of the government. Professors Moon Ik Hwang and Moon Dong Hwang, brothers who are defendants in the March 1st Incident in 1976, are former teachers of Hankuk.

April 8, Methodist Seminary, Seoul

Some 200 students gathered on campus to read the Charter for Democratic National Salvation [see p. 15]. When they began to leave the campus for a demonstration, they were stopped by police and one student leader was taken into custody.

April 11, Seoul National University Engineering College

Anti-government handbills were scattered on the campus of Seoul National University's Engineering College Monday despite a strict ban against such dissident activities.

The mimeographed handbills were signed by an "emergency patriotic student general assembly" although no such student organizations could exist legally. The Government-organized Students' Defense Corps is the only legal student organization.

The handbills called for repeal of the 1972 Constitution and a 1975 Presidential Decree banning antigovernment movements, restoration of campus autonomy and other basic freedoms, and the release of political prisoners and students under arrest for political activities.

About 100 riot police and plainclothed police stormed into the campus shortly after the handbills were scattered. About two dozen of them dashed into classrooms to frisk students and check their bags but none was arrested.

April 12, Seoul National University

Again, early in the morning of April 12, pamphlets titled "April Declaration" were distributed on the campus of Seoul National University. Plain-clothed police immediately moved in to stop the student gathering. Two students were carried off by the police by force.

The pamphlet was signed by the "Seoul National Emergency Student Association", and called for ending the Yushin system and release of detained students.

Demonstrations were also held at Sungmyong Women's College, 3/23; SNU Engineering College, 4/1; Sudo Women's College, 4/6; Ewha University, 4/11; Sogang University, 4/12; Konkuk University, 4/13.

KNCC HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE RAIDED; STAFF, OTHERS ARRESTED

On the night of April 13, only one day after a U.S. congressional team left Seoul, the government launched a new attack on the church. The Human Rights Commission office in the Christian building was raided at midnight, when a typist was forced to accompany police to the office and open the door. Most of the office's records, minutes and documents were taken. Early the next morning Human Rights Commission staff member Miss Kim Kyong-In and director Lee Jik Hyong were both picked up on the street on their way to work. Also arrested according to Japanese press reports, were: Park Chong Ryol, son of Presbyterian Minister Park Hyung Gyu; Chong Kum Song, mother of imprisoned poet Kim Chi Ha; Korea UIM chairperson, Rev. Cho Wha Son; Rev. Cho Ji Son, UIM pastor in Seoul; Park Yong Gil and Moon Song Kun, wife and son of March First dependent Rev. Moon Ik Whan.

The raid and arrests are apparently an effort by the government to squelch a mushrooming signature campaign for the "Charter for National Democratic Salvation" issued March 22, the day Kim Dae Jung and 17 others were sentenced by the Supreme Court. [see pp. 6 and 15 for related articles.] Already 300 signatures had been added to those of the 10 persons who initiated the Charter. These signatures were confiscated from the Human Rights Office.

It is felt significant and ominous that the governments' renewed attack on the church occurred immediately after a U.S. congressional mission left Korea [see p.10]. The timing is seen in Seoul as a direct challenge to the Carter human rights foreign policy.

Since January, government critics in Seoul say, Park has hesitated to openly repress the rising tide of popular discontent, for fear that the new Carter administration would restrict aid or hasten the withdrawal of troops. It appears he has now decided there is more to fear from the people than from Carter.

SUPREME COURT CONFIRMS MARCH FIRST VERDICTS

The Supreme Court confirmed March 22 prison terms of one to five years for former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and 17 other prominent figures convicted of violating presidential decrees.

The 16-judge full panel of the highest court finalized the case of the dissidents, who also include former President Yun Po Sun, stemming from a proclamation last March urging restoration of democracy in South Korea.

In rejecting their appeals, Chief Justice Min Bok Ki said the proclamation distorted the realities of the nation and was not taken as advice to the government.

Five-year prison terms were confirmed for Kim, Yun, religious leader Hahm Suk Hun, 75, and ex-professor Moon Ik Hwan, 58. Five Catholic priests,

five Protestant clergymen, two professors, a National Assemblyman and a lawyer had their prison terms of one to three years confirmed. Four of these 14 received suspended sentences.

The public rights of the influential political dissidents will be suspended for five more years after they have served their five-year prison terms. During that period of suspension, Kim and other dissidents would neither be qualified to run in National Assembly elections nor able to make overseas trips. In addition, former Foreign Minister Chung Yil Hyung, 73, will lose his seat in the National Assembly. Under South Korean Laws, only a retrial by a court or presidential amnesty could save the prisoners from serving their prison terms.

The attorney general announced Tuesday that execution of criminal penalties for five of 18 dissidents given prison terms of up to five years would be suspended because they are women or of advanced age. O Taek Keun said the prosecution made the decision at an emergency meeting of top officials after the Supreme Court handed down its ruling Tuesday. The five believed subject to the decision are Yun Po Sun, 79, Hahm Suk Hun, 75, Chung Yil Hyung, 73, and two women - Dr. Lee Tai Yong and Mrs. Lee Woo Jong.

(Kyodo)

ANOTHER CRY FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

A fresh appeal, called a "Charter for National Democratic Salvation" was issued on March 22 by ten prominent opposition leaders, including some of the defendants of the March First Incident, 1976, politicians, journalists and religious persons, shortly after South Korea's Supreme Court upheld the lower court convictions and sentenced Kim Dae Jung and 17 other dissidents to prison terms ranging from one to five years for anti-government activities.

The charter appealed for the recovery of democracy to take precedence over the problem of U.S. troop withdrawal and called for a national "Democratic People's Association" demanding the banning of the Presidential Decree and the Yushin Constitution and the release of prisoners.

Former President Yun Po Sun headed the list. Other signers were Yang Il Dong, head of the splinter opposition Democratic Unification Party, Catholic priests Yun Jyong Jung and Bishop Daniel Chi Hak Sun, Chung Ku Yong, a one-time leader of the ruling Democratic Republican Party, Chung Il Hyong, a ranking member of the major opposition New Democratic Party, the Rev. Park Hyong Kyu, Quaker practitioner Ham Suk Hon, former news paper editor Chun Kwa Woo and Rev. Cho Hwa Sun, women's labour movement activist who is the only woman among the signers.

The charter was distributed to some foreign press organizations at noon-time on the 22nd, to prevent its being seized by the government, and has not yet been reported in Korea.

Asahi Shimbun reported that Kim Chi Ha's mother carried out the gathering of signatures for the Charter, in spite of the KCIA's constant surveillance and restriction on her movement. The text of the Charter is on p.15.

CARDINAL KIM CONDEMNS SUPREME COURT DECISION

In an impassioned sermon addressed to about 1,500 worshippers at a prayer meeting called on March 28, Cardinal Kim Su Hwan, leader of ROK's Catholic community, sharply condemned the decision of the South Korean Supreme Court on March 22 to uphold the sentences of all 18 defendants in the March 1, 1976 "Declaration for National Democratic Salvation" case. The Cardinal frontally attacked the government's decision, calling it "improper and unreasonable."

MARCH FIRST DEFENDANTS TRANSFERRED TO LOCAL PRISONS

It was confirmed on March 28th that eight of the March First defendants have been dispersed to local prisons throughout South Korea. Only Kim Dae Jung remains in Seoul. His case under the election law is still indispute, but he may be removed to a local prison after that trial is concluded. This shows the government's strong decision to ignore international public opinion, including the U.S., as well as domestic criticism from opponents of the conviction. The government has been trying to put the March First Incident behind it and to separate it from the issue of international and domestic public opinion.

The families discovered the dispersal of prisoners for the first time on the morning of March 28th when they went to the Seoul Prison to see their husbands. The defendants had been moved on the 25th after the court decision of the 22nd.

The chairman of the "Council of Korean Prisoners of Conscience" Ko Dok Ki (the wife of former President Yun Po Sun) announced, "The dispersal of the eight persons to different prisons proves that the incident is political revenge. The families are angry and say that it has become difficult to go to the prisons and come back in the same day since some prisons are at the southernmost end of Korea.

LEE MOON YOUNG KEPT IN TOTAL DARKNESS

The wife of Prof. Lee Moon Young, former Korea University professor, reported after meeting him last week that he is being kept in a narrow, windowless darkened cell day and night, with no chance for exercise. He has been moved to a prison in Suncheon, at the Southernmost tip of Korea, making it very difficult for his family to visit. "They are killing him little by little out of revenge", his wife said, "driving him out of his mind." This especially harsh treatment may be retaliation for Professor Lee's having undertaken a hunger strike to protest prison conditions last December and again in March.

Concerned groups have requested the U.S. government to investigate the situation of Lee and other prisoners. Kim Dae Jung, the only March First

defendant still in prison in Seoul, is also reported to be in rapidly worsening health. His wife has reported that he is being allowed no medical care, and that he can no longer stand unaided.

ADVISER OF THE SOCIAL UNIFICATION PARTY RELEASED

Former chairman of the Social Unification Party Kim Chol, who has been in prison for one and half years for violation of the Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9 was released on March 31st, half a year before his sentence expired.

After the Emergency Decree No. 9 was announced, a local member of the Party was prosecuted for criticizing the Decree. Mr. Kim Chol printed the content of the investigation and distributed to the press in May, 1975. For doing so, he was arrested with three other members of the Party and was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment and suspension of civil rights at an appellant court. He has been in prison since September 1975.

Mr. Kim Chol was in prison before for one year for violation of the Anti-communism Law when he made an election speech. In November 1974, he formed the "National Council for the Restoration of Democracy" with Kim Dae Jung and others and became a major member of the struggle for the restoration of democracy, including the revision of the Yushin Constitution.

Mr. Kim has been known as a Korean socialist for a long time, and he attended the meeting of the Socialist International board of trustees at Oslo in 1962 and other international meetings in 1964 and 1966. He became a candidate for president from the Social Unification Party in 1971.

The Party's registration was cancelled because it was unable to satisfy the regulation for new political parties which says "a political party must have branches in 25 places in the nation."

If the suspension of sentence was ordered by the President, this case becomes the first one for a well-known person since the announcement of Decree No. 9. This case is quite notable because it may have opened some possibilities for the March 1st defendants, religious people and students that their sentences might be shortened or suspended.

PRP PRISONERS' WIVES DEMAND PUBLIC RE-TRIAL

On April 9, 1975, Park Chung Hee ordered the execution of eight men accused of belonging to the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party." Even today, at least 15 "PRP prisoners" remain in ROK prisons, charged with membership in a party which poet Kim Chi Ha has labelled a "government fabrication." (Kim was returned to prison in 1975 for this statement after only one month of freedom from a commuted death sentence.) The families of the remaining "PRP prisoners" have issued an appeal for international pressure

for a public re-trial. "If public opinion demands a re-trial," wrote Rim In Young, wife of prisoner Chun Chang Il, "the South Korean government's position will become uneasy. Because all its misdeeds would come out in evidence if a public trial took place, the government is likely to endlessly refuse such a trial; but finally it might come to feel there is no alternative but to release those unjustly jailed people. That is our hope."

In another statement, Mrs. Rim has described the inhuman conditions of her husband's incarceration in Chonju prison. (For full texts of both statements, see pp. 19-21.)

CHOSUN ILBO REPORTERS CONTINUE STRUGGLE

On March 6, 1977, the third anniversary of their firing, 33 former Chosun Ilbo reporters issued a statement about their situation and vowed their determination to continue to fight for the restoration of press freedom in Korea. These reporters have filed lawsuits to recover their former positions. In the first trial, the company actions against the reporters were upheld by the court on various grounds, e.g. that they offended the accepted structure of authority in the company by printing unauthorized stories, or that they illegally occupied the editorial offices.

In an editorial in the recent issue of the Chosun Struggle Committee Newsletter, Chun Kwan Woo, former editor of Tong-a Ilbo, writes, "Though the struggle is fierce, our hearts are at ease. There is shame neither in looking up to heaven nor at our fellow men."

SCHOOL TEXT BOOK PROFITEERING SCANDAL

National police have arrested 13 persons, including 11 government officials, in a major scandal involving bribery, tax evasion and profiteering in connection with high school textbooks.

The opposition New Democratic Party Thursday demanded the resignation of Education Minister Hwang San Duk to assume moral responsibility for the scandal. A police announcement said that the 11 officials arrested Wednesday were suspected to have received a total of about 40 million won (\$80,000) from three textbook companies.

The seven officials of the Education Ministry and four internal revenue officials are alleged to have helped the textbook companies make an illicit profit of about 20 billion won (\$40 million) and evade taxes totaling 15 billion won (\$30 million) in the past five years, police said.

U.S. CONGRESSIONAL TEAM INVESTIGATES KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS

A U.S. Congressional delegation, the first since the new Carter Administration came into office, visited Seoul from April 10-12. The purpose of the delegation, headed by Rep. Lester Wolff of New York, was to discuss the issue of military withdrawal with ROK government officials, and to investigate the situation of human rights. The delegation was reported to have been discouraged by U.S. embassy officials in Seoul from speaking with any of the 18 leading democratic spokespersons recently condemned for calling for the restoration of democracy. However, in a meeting at the home of former President Yun Po Sun, the delegation was able to meet with several family members of the imprisoned political and religious leaders to discuss human rights.

WHY SOUTH KOREA IS A "GOOD INVESTMENT CLIMATE"

On March 7, the Asia Wall Street Journal reported the following:

"South Korea plans to rewrite two joint-venture contracts because they favor the U.S. partners in the operation of two fertilizer plants, officials said. The joint venture contracts of Yongnam Chemical Co. and Chinhae Chemical Co. guarantee the U.S. investors annual profits amounting to at least 20% of their capital investment for 15 years, regardless of business performance.

"The Yongnam contract guarantees a minimum, of \$2.6 million in profit a year for 15 years for Getty Oil Co. and Swift Agricultural Chemicals Corp., which each control 25% of the \$26 million joint venture, the officials said. The South Korean government owns the other half.

"The Chinhae contract guarantees a minimum of \$2 million of profits a year for 15 years for Gulf Oil Corp. and International Minerals and Chemical Corp., each controlling 25% of Chinhae, capitalized at \$21 million. The other half is owned by the state.

"The officials said that such profit guarantees, though now criticized as unfair and humilitating, were needed to induce U.S. investments in the fertilizer plants a decade ago when foreigners were reluctant to invest in such projects. To fulfill the profit guarantees, the government has had to allocate large-scale funding to purchase fertilizer from the two plants, forcing them to operate at excessive production, according to the officials."

What the Wall Street Journal did not report was that both fertilizer projects were not only protected by exorbitant profit guarantees, but both were capitalized entirely by U.S. AID loans. The Chinhae fertilizer project received a loan in 1965 of \$24.6 million, with repayment deferred for ten years at 1% interest, then payable at 2% for the next thirty years. An identical loan for \$24.2 million was provided for the Yongnam project in the same year. Apparently neither Gulf nor Getty nor the Korean Government provided a single penny of their own funds.

As of the beginning of 1976, Getty and Swift had each received at least \$26 million in profit from their venture. Gulf and International Minerals had each profited \$20 million, for a total profit of \$92 million (not including any profit that went to the Korean government). The U.S. government, the source of all the capital for the ventures, had only received a return of \$4.5 million. The entire amount of the original loans, \$45 million, was still outstanding.

KCIA ARRESTS JAPAN-BASED "SPIES"

The Central Intelligence Agency of Korea (KCIA) recently arrested eleven people including a Korean businessperson from Japan on the pretext of spying for North Korea.

According to an announcement made by the KCIA on March 24, Kang Woo Kyu, a 60 year old auditor for the Taeyong Plastic Co., Tokyo, formed a secret organization called "South Korea Liberal Unification Council" and "was preparing for an emergency," while running a business in Seoul. The president of a construction company in Seoul, and a former president of the Cheju Teachers College, etc., were also arrested on charges of collaborating in the scheme. It is said that they had traveled between Seoul and Tokyo six times from March 1973 to January 1977 with direct espionage instructions from the North Korean Labor Party.

Concerning these arrests the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan made a protest statement saying "It is a frame-up, an old trick the Park Chung Hee regime uses whenever it faces political difficulties."

(New Asia News)

CRITICISM OF JAPAN-KOREA CONNECTION INTENSIFIES

Tokyo -- In recent weeks, Japanese opposition Diet members have made public their several investigations into the corrupt ties between Japan's rightwing Liberal Democratic Party and the Park Chung Hee regime of South Korea.

Mindanao Solicited Funds for LDP Politicians

On March 4, Socialist MP Takako Doi revealed her investigation into allegations that campaign funds have been funneled from the pro-Seoul Korean Residents' Union in Japan (Mindanao) to certain members of the "Korea Lobby" in the Japanese Diet through various means in violation of the political Funds Control Law on the basis of her investigation, Miss Doi took up the issue in the House of Representatives Budget Committee session and demanded the Government investigate the case.

According to Miss Doi, she obtained copies of two written instructions issued by Mindanao, one of which urged each Mindanao member to submit a list of

their Japanese acquaintances and the other a list of their Japanese wives and Japanese employees of business firms owned by Korean residents. The Dietwoman also said that a party was held at an Osaka hotel last November in which about ¥70 million was raised by Mindan for political uses in Japan to promote South Korea's interests.

ROK-Connected Gangster Defaults on Loan from Local Ag.
Coop: Korea Exchange Bank Negotiates Repayment

On March 6, it was revealed that an Agricultural cooperative in Ibaragi Prefecture had been caught with a bad loan to Toa Sogo Enterprises, a conglomerate owned by right wing underworld figure Machii Hisayuki, (Korean name: Chong Kon-yong) whose ties to the KCIA and Park Chung Hee are well known. Apparently, the Korean Exchange Bank is now being forced to make good a ¥2.3 billion (\$8.33 million) loan on which Toa Sogo defaulted, when a real estate deal fell through due to the 1973 oil shock.

According to a Foreign Ministry investigation, most of the Korea Exchange Bank's business in Japan is of a "non-economic", i.e. political, character. There is suspicion that this loan through the Ibaragi co-op may also have had a political character.

Diet Mulls ROK Firms Dealings and Possible Kickbacks in Japan

On March 16, Socialist Diet member Tsunehiko Antaku took up the Case of the New Korea Insulator Industrial Co. in the Lower House Budget Committee. This firm, which was set up 11 years ago with Japanese loans, went bankrupt after an extraordinarily long delay in securing Japanese export licenses. There are suspicions that Japanese officials had been paid to cause the delay. It took two and a half years for the Japanese exporters to obtain the export licenses.

According to Antaku, the Korean company paid a total of ¥760 million to Kawasaki Heavy Industries and Nissho-Iwai, while actually the prices of machinery sold plus the margin of profits by Nissho-Iwai and Kawasaki in the deal amounted to ¥480 million. The balance, he suspected, might have been turned into illegal political contributions. The Nissho-Iwai official who was questioned in the Diet committee had no memory of the details. The investigation continues.

SUSPICIONS RAISED RE PLANT EXPORT TO POK

On March 31, another suspected payoff case was raised by the opposition in the Lower House Budget Committee. Atsushi Hashimoto, a JCP Councillor, told the Budget Committee that about ¥1,500 million which changed hands in the export of an aluminum plant to South Korea might have been returned as political funds in Japan.

Hashimoto said that the suspicion had arisen after checking a duplicate of a report of an investigation into the case conducted by a South Korean

Parliamentary committee. According to him, the South Korean committee report said that in the export of an aluminum plant in 1969 by Toyo Menka Kaisha and Showa Denko to the Republic of Korea Aluminium Co., some \$870,000 (roughly ¥304 million) was unaccounted for.

According to Hashimoto, the amount suspected to have been used for improper purposes is much larger than this. The aluminum plant was sold to the South Korean firm, he said, for \$ 3,490,000, which was \$5,990,000 higher than the price the firm and the two Japanese companies had originally agreed upon. Hashimoto said there is a strong suspicion that the originally agreed price might have been revised upward to raise political funds which were subsequently used in Japan.

NEW INFORMATION, ALLEGATIONS IN KIM DAE JUNG KIDNAPPING

Three and a half years after former Presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel by KCIA agents, new facts and allegations are beginning to reach the public from the investigations of Japanese Diet opposition party members.

In early March Socialist Dietman Tsunehiko Antaku called on the Government to investigate a report that South Korean President Park Chung Hee had paid ¥300 million to then Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to politically settle the kidnapping case. Antaku quoted Korean journalist Moon Myong Sha, who had written from Washington, that the money had been paid in three installments shortly after the kidnapping of Kim. According to her the money was paid through Cho Chung Hun, president of Korean Air Lines and Kenji Osano, president of Kokusai Kogyo Co.

Osamu Mitsui, chief of the National Police Agency's Security Bureau, testified before the same Diet committee that the police were interested in studying the report. No further statement has yet been made.

On March 16, a member of the Hyogo Prefectural Assembly said that a Korean-operated credit association in Kobe had illegally financed a tourist firm suspected of having provided the boat on which Mr. Kim was taken to Korea from Japan. Yasunosuke Kanda, the assemblyman, said that Kobe Shogin, the credit association, loaned a total of ¥430 million to Kokusai Kanko Co. between July 1973 and December 1975. This amount was in excess of the amount the credit association could legally loan one member, 20 percent of its owned capital. Kobe Shogin's owned capital is only ¥534 million. Kanda said he suspects that part of the loans extended to the tourist firm might have been used to finance the abduction of Kim Dae Jung.

In the Upper House of the Diet, Koichiro Ueda, JCP member, charged on March 29 that there were suspicions that Ground Self Defense Force personnel had been connected with the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung. Ueda's charges were based on a letter from a member of a special unit section No. 2, of the GSDF involved in intelligence. According to the letter, there were reports that the KCIA and officers of the No. 2 section drafted the plan for Kim's abduction between December 1972, and January 1973. One officer of the unit,

Katsuichi Tsukamoto, visited South Korea in February, 1973. Another former member of the unit, a Major Tsuboyama, was alleged to have retired to form a detective agency called Million Shiryo Service, and to have employed another GSDF sergent named Emura to spy on Kim Dae Jung during his visit to Tokyo in July-August, 1973. SOC Defense Agency officials have denied the allegations.

All these reports and allegations are based on circumstantial evidence, but in a politically charged atmosphere in which the government fails to investigate the kidnapping or to prosecute those known from direct evidence such as fingerprints, to have been involved, this flow of rumor and unsubstantiated charge is likely to continue.

GULF OIL STOCKHOLDERS PROTEST KOREAN PAYOFFS

N.Y. - In a stockholder resolution filed by the Sisters of Loretto, Gulf Oil Co. is being asked to establish the following corporate policy: "The corporation and its affiliates or subsidiaries shall not make any contributions or grants to any political party or for any purpose than could reasonably be construed to be political to the Republic of Korea." This is a continuing protest against Gulf's payoff of more than \$4 million to Park Chung Hee in 1967 and 1971, since, as the resolution's supporting statement says, "We have no reason to believe that South Korean politicians may not approach Gulf for similar contributions," and "the lack of a precise and straightforward corporate policy prohibiting such contributions makes management vulnerable once again to such pressures."

This resolution will be presented at Gulf's Annual Meeting this month.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE CALLS FOR NEW U.S. KOREA POLICY

N. Y. - A three-day conference on U.S. policy toward Korea was convened in New York April 1 - 3. Called by the Committee for a New Direction for U.S. Korea Policy, the series of speeches, discussions and workshops was endorsed and supported by a wide coalition of groups and individuals in the U.S. which are concerned about the social, political and economic consequences of U.S. policy for the future of Korea. Participants from Japan included Shin Aochi, Secretary General of the Japan-Korea Solidarity Committee, and members of opposition parties in the Japanese Diet. Participants also came from British, West German, French and Italian academic and political groups.

According to the convening committee, "the Carter Administration's initiative" is seen "as a potential turning point in U.S. policy toward Korea. Accordingly, the conference will consider crucial aspects of this issue. These include the overtiding question of human rights and issues of military and economic aid, of security support and assistance to the Park Chung Hee government and of nuclear proliferation."

CHARTER FOR DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL SALVATION

Our freedom to speak and act is severely restricted. Since November 1976, and particularly since February this year, the whole country has been placed under strict police surveillance; democratic citizens of all walks of life including those in religious professions have been arrested and detained by intelligence and police agents, and the meetings and speeches planned for the restoration of democracy have been completely blocked. Such a situation shows the newly emerging passion for democracy among our people, and at the same time explains how severe is the suppression imposed upon our struggle for democracy.

Under such suffocating circumstances, only a few citizens could be contacted to sign this charter. We hope that this document will be widely communicated to democratic citizens and we furthermore eagerly expect a great many efforts to realize it.

1. The March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation and the January 23rd Wongju Declaration are declarations of the whole people. We are proud of being together with those who participated in the declaration at the very court that suppresses the people's declaration. The statement of reasons for the appeal case submitted by the March First defendants is indeed one that has been submitted to the court of history and truth of the whole people longing for democracy.

2. The whole situation which has developed around the Korean Peninsula -- arguments for the withdrawal of the American troops, human rights issues, deterioration of international goodwill and relations through bribery and scandals -- is entirely due to the dictatorship and human rights violations of the present government and therefore, the responsibility lies with the government. We believe restoration and realization of democracy, for which the whole people are truly united, is a historical mission which ought to precede the issue of the withdrawal of the American troops.

3. For the present government to overcome the challenge of our national history, the following points should be put into practice;

- 1) Repeal of the Yushin Constitution and Emergency Measures and declaration of their invalidity.
- 2) Full restoration of the human rights of all the political prisoners and abolition of undemocratic systems and laws.
- 3) End to repression and intelligence politics including torture and surveillance.
- 4) Freedom of speech, freedom for universities and for religion and guarantee of judicial independence.
- 5) Guarantee of people's rights to livelihood: workers, peasants and fishermen.
- 6) Wiping out of injustice and corruption, and the establishment of a just and open diplomatic stand based on goodwill.

4. We, who strive for peace and the common good of humankind, firmly believe that the rights of men and women and the struggle for those rights transcend national boundaries. Democratization of South Korea leads not

only to the achievement of peace on the Korean peninsula, but also to world peace. Therefore, it is a just right as well as responsibility as human beings that people all over the world who love freedom and peace give solidarity to the Korean people's suffering struggle for democracy and the promotion of human rights.

5. Today it is the greatest responsibility for the whole people of all walks of life to fight for democracy, national autonomy and national unification. Workers, peasants, salaried men, civil servants, intelligence agents, students, religious personnel, intellectuals, small merchants and manufacturers -- We appeal to all the people whose human dignity, freedom and rights for survival were trampled, to demonstrate their utmost courage and creativity, to prove their attitude as democratic people by arousing their passion to strive for democracy.

By this statement we promise to form a united movement for democratic citizens.

Long Live Democracy!

Yun Po-sun, Former President
Chung Il-hyong, Assemblyman, New Democratic Party
Ham Sok-hon, Editor, The Voice of the People,
Quaker leader
Chung Ku-young, former chairman ruling
Democratic Republican Party
Yun Hyung-jung, Catholic priest
Chon Kwan-woo, former chief editor, Dong-a daily
Yang Il-dong, Head of Democratic Unification Party
Chi Hak-soon, Catholic bishop of Wonju
Park Hyung-kyu, Minister, Cheil Presbyterian Church
Cho Hwa-soon, Chairperson, Korean UIM

(Seoul, March 24, 1977)

DECLARATION OF WORKERS' HUMAN RIGHTS

The human rights of workers are given by God, and have important significance for social and economic development. Therefore, these rights must be legally protected. There can be no justifiable reason by which the fundamental rights of workers can be violated, as they have a sanctity that is inviolable. Nevertheless, there are innumerable cases in which basic rights of workers are being violated in the name of national security and economic development; even existing labor laws are being ignored, causing a great deal of suffering for the workers. This is indeed a very unfortunate state of affairs, and a criminality that cannot be tolerated any longer. We reject the system of undemocratic and feudalistic labor-management relations in which the company owners ignore the opinions of the workers, decide unilaterally the hours of work and production quotas, and demand unconditional obedience.

The workers should have the right to organize for their own interests, the right to negotiate with management, and also the right to refuse to work collectively, if necessary.

At this united mass for the human rights of workers, we workers and believers of Protestant and Catholic churches, declare the following human rights of workers, for the future of our nation and for the promotion of the workers' social and economic position:

1. There should be firm guarantees for the three fundamental rights of workers: the right to organize, the right to collective bargaining, and the right to collective action.
2. There should be immediate abolition of the National Security Law, the temporary extraordinary laws, and the emergency measures.
3. The government should recognize autonomous negotiation between labor and management, which should be entrusted to the free decision of those parties.
4. We reject and condemn management's inhuman and illegal treatment of workers by ignoring the 8-hour work day and demanding 13 or more hours of work per day, in the name of the Export First Policy.
5. We firmly demand that working hours, rest periods, lunch breaks, monthly and annual holidays, and days off for women's physical reasons be kept strictly, as clearly spelled out in the Labor Standards Law, and we reject and condemn those company owners and managements who refuse to comply with that Law.
6. We protest strongly the negligence of the Labor Office in enforcing the Law against those companies which violate the Labor Standards Law and thereby intensify the suffering of the workers.
7. We strongly denounce those labor union leaders who take the side of company and management and who ignore and cooperate in the illegal acts of the company, thereby adding further grievance to the workers.
8. We strongly denounce those company owners who, in the name of the new community movement, demand free labor from workers for their own private profit.
9. The Government should legislate a minimum wage law to protect the livelihood of the poor and hungry workers.
10. We believe the minimum monthly wage ought to be set at 30,000 won [US\$63] for eight hours of work per day, and demand that wages be raised to this level immediately.
11. We denounce those company owners who do not pay for overtime work, special work days, nighttime work, retirement grants, bonuses and bankruptcy compensation, on the excuse that the workers are only temporary or contracted.
12. We strongly reject those company owners and managements who threaten and intimidate us through various means, charging that religious organizers are interfering in labor affairs.

13. There should be a stop to the suspension of workers' rights in the name of inducement of foreign investment, and the Government must keep a close watch over the foreign-invested companies in order to prevent their blatant exploitation of the workers.

Seoul, Myong Dong Cathedral, March 10, 1977

LETTER TO PRESIDENT PARK

Honorable President Park Chung Hee
Blue House
Seoul, Korea

Dear Sir:

We are very grateful to you that on March 1 this year you reduced the death sentence of Kim Chul Hyon to life imprisonment. We shared our joy with the leaders of Korean Christian Church in Japan which is a member of our organization. Although naturally we are still hoping that our good young Christian friend Chul Hyon can be granted a total amnesty so that he can go back to his family and to his full life outside jail, it really was a great relief for all of us when we heard at least his life was saved. There is no appropriate word to express how greatly we appreciate your action.

On the same day you also granted a reduction of penalty to Mr. Kim Tal Nam. Although we have had no direct contact with him nor with his family, his case has also been our concern. His family also was overjoyed with the good news, and we shared it too.

On the other hand, however, there are other people who, having heard this good news, have become distressed. The more they hear about the joy the above families experienced, the more they become worried. I am talking about those families and friends of five other Koreans in Japan who have been sentenced equally to death under similar charges.

Mr. President, I am sure you know about these persons, but for clarification's sake, I list them here.

Chin Du Hyon	(48)	Setagayaku, Tokyo
Choi Chul Gyo	(45)	Matsudo, Chiba
Paek Ok Kwang	(28)	Higashinariku, Osaka
Kwan Jon Hon	(25)	Ikunoku, Osaka
Lee Chul	(28)	Kumagun, Kumamoto

Between May 1975 and March 1977 all these persons' death sentences were upheld by the Supreme Court in Seoul. They were charged with violating the Anti-Communism Law and National Security Law.

For each of them, as you may probably know, support groups have been formed in Japan. They cannot believe the allegation that these people visited

North Korea as the charge says. We would not, however, like to take issue with this at the moment.

Our plea is for you to give all of them as you did for Chul Hyon and Tal Nam at least the reduction of death sentences. For their families and friends, to live with the threat that any moment their beloved ones will have their lives taken away is a severe psychological torture.

From the court decisions, we can hardly recognize any differences between the charges given to the two who have been granted a reduction and the charges given to the five others.

As a Christian organization, we are concerned with the human rights of all people, not just those of Christians. Especially as we listened to the cry and agony of some of the families we feel bound to raise our voice for them. Soon the Christians all over the world will join in support for the plea of these families.

Mr. President, we sincerely make our petition for you to give generous consideration on this case and grant them a reduction of sentences.

Very truly yours,

John M. Nakajima
General Secretary
National Christian Council of Japan

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHONJU JAIL

My husband is in jail at Chonju. As a matter of fact, he is in a twofold jail, that is a jail especially built within that jail. In that "jail within the jail", he is in solitary confinement. There, he is given punishments beyond all imagination, he is being killed by inches. How can men treat other men like that?

1. My husband is very severely treated because he does not write a "letter of conversion" but, since he definitely is not a member of the so-called PRP and since he definitely is not a Communist, how could he write a "letter of conversion?" Should he write such a "letter of conversion" stating that he was PRP member and/or a Communist, I would part from him at once and ask for a divorce. In court, my husband stated that he has never been either a PRP member or a Communist; no evidence was produced against him. How can a man be convicted without any evidence produced against him? Should any evidence be produced, I would admit it at once. Since my husband is killed by inches and is inflicted tortures until he writes that "letter of conversion," I have no choice but to try to prove, at the risk of my own life, that he is not a PRP member and that is what I have been trying to do for three full years.

2. My husband is confined in a cell, no larger than 18 square feet: in such a narrow cell there is not enough space for him to open his arms and he can hardly lie down. There is not a single window or hole allowing a light beam to shine into the cell; he is not even given electric light. Day and night, he is in utter darkness. Is that a jail? Isn't it a place of torture?

3. No light at all can enter that pitch-dark cell in which that man who craves for seeing some light and reading some book is confined. But, as if that was not enough, a speaker has been installed in the cell and some broadcast is sent in all through the day. This must be the way of trying to make insane those who do not die. Truly, it is a cruel punishment. In itself, life in jail must be atrocious, but as if that was not enough other atrocious and even unthinkable punishments are inflicted to the convict.

4. As a matter of fact, monthly visits are permitted. To other convicts a one-hour visit is permitted once a month, but in my husband's case the monthly visit is reduced to five minutes. My husband has been in jail for three full years now. From Seoul to Chonju, the trip takes much time and costs money which is not easily found. When I just manage to go for the five-minute visit, we have no time to say to each other everything we would like to say: I let you imagine my feelings when I have to leave him. I let you imagine the feelings of my children when I took them with me for the first visit, one year after their father had been jailed. At first they danced with joy; but very soon they were disappointed when they had to try to see each other through a twofold or a threefold glass and iron-bar window and when, before they exchanged a single word, the guard came to take away their father.

5. My husband has been thrown into the "spies' building". But he is not a spy and, at least, he should be moved to another building.

6. He is permitted some physical exercise, but only in a 70 square foot room. What kind of physical exercise can be taken in such a narrow room? Though he has been in jail for three full years now, he is not permitted more than a five-minute daily exercise in such a narrow 70 square foot room! That is probably just enough time and space to brush off some dust and catch a glimpse of the sky. Is not that too cruel a treatment? At least he should be permitted to go to a large ground to jump and rush or to throw stones, and not only for five minutes but at least for two hours every day.

7. My husband is not allowed to attend religious services, namely the Catholic mass. Why is religious freedom denied to some imprisoned people? Why are they denied permission to meet with the chaplain?

Besides what I know, there may be other punishments which I am not aware of. I hardly got the above mentioned information from my husband, for he knows that, because of having told me some stories, he might be exposed to even heavier punishments. Why are such cruel punishments and tortures inflicted on men? Is it only for the purpose of getting "letters of conversion" from them? Our sufferings are too unjust to be borne. They had better kill all of us altogether. My understanding was that such violations of human rights existed only in Communist countries. But here, people are picked up at random, crimes are put on them without evidence for political purposes, all kinds of cruel punishments are inflicted on them in order to have them

confess crimes they did not commit. Life is not worth being lived in such a world and they had better kill all our family all together and at the same time instead of killing us by inches.

APPEAL

I belong to one of the families of the so-called "People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) members." Under the dictatorial rule of Park Chung Hee in Korea, these people are undergoing unjust treatments and are sacrificed to the regime. The so-called PRP case is the most outstanding illustration of the crafty violations of human rights which prevail in Korea:

1. There is not a single evidence that the still-alive so-called PRP members ever broke the Korean laws. How can people be convicted even though there is no evidence against them?
2. These people were tortured. Some of them were tortured for 40 days, in very various ways. Some of them fell unconscious as often as 10 times while being tortured.
3. They were tried in secret military courts, and the official trial records have been forged in such a way that what the defendants actually said in court has been changed into entirely different statements.

Help us so that the so-called PRP members be given the opportunity of a re-trial. Two foreign missionaries working in Korea, Rev. George Ogle, a Methodist minister, and Rev. James Sinnott, a Catholic priest, were deported from South Korea only for the reason that they had stated that the PRP case was a fabrication. Mr. Kim Chi Ha, the poet, is again in jail because of having stated that the PRP case was a frame up; only a few weeks ago, he once again said in court: "I know for sure that the PRP case is nothing but a fabrication." All the lawyers who defended the so-called PRP members say that the Party is only a "government-manufactured Party", but they do not speak out because they are afraid of being jailed. IF the PRP case is not a government-forged case, why then does the government persist in refusing that re-trial the families as well as many prominent persons have been requesting with insistence?

Help us have a re-trial for our husbands. I mean a public trial, with tens of foreign newsreporters and any interested Korean attending, I do not mean a secret military trial like the one they had. During that secret military trial, Prosecutor Moon Ho Chul went so far as to tell a defendant who was mentioning his tortures: "Isn't it because you have not been struck hard enough that you are spending time with idle talks? It seems that you need another thrashing." We do not want secret trials in which the prosecutors can threaten the defendants and force them to keep silent, we want a public trial.

If the public opinion demands a re-trial, the South Korean government's position will become uneasy. Because all its misdeeds will come to evidence if a public re-trial takes place, the government is likely to endlessly refuse such a trial; but finally it might come to feel that there is no alternative but to release those unjustly jailed people. That is our hope. We pray God that you do everything in your power to help these poor, desperately weeping wives who have no high position and no backing.

Rim In Young, Chun Chang Il's wife

IS CARTEP BACKING DOWN ON KOPEAN HUMAN RIGHTS?

Making "human rights" a factor of international power politics has brought U.S. President Carter a mixed reception. Asian dictators and U.S. businessmen view his policies negatively, while liberals in the U.S. and peoples struggling for freedom from oppression in Asia have been greatly encouraged. There is a danger, however, of over-reaction, leaving all the initiative in one man's hands. This would be a poor way to guarantee genuine freedom. One person, even the most powerful of kings or presidents, is a weak reed on which to lean all hope for justice. Human rights have historically been won only when they have been demanded by people.

Furthermore, the evidence to date is quite mixed about Mr. Carter's commitment to the peoples of countries where U.S. security interests are considered sensitive. Inauguration Day rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding ("Our commitment to human rights must be absolute"), Pres. Carter's record on Korea is rather disquieting. It may be premature to accuse him of waffling on his commitments, but the following developments give cause for concern: He has severed the linkage he had earlier made between human rights and security assistance, asking for an increase of 77% in military aid to the Park Chung Hee government. Military withdrawal has been proposed in a way that neither aids discussion of the major powers over the Korean peninsula nor encourages democratic forces in South Korea. The Justice Department investigation of KCIA bribery of Congress is flagging under Carter's appointee, Att. Gen. Bell. The Carter Administration's response to the sentencing of Kim Dae Jung and others has been ominously weak. These are not signs of "absolute commitment to human rights."

The Carter Administration is still young and for Americans the honeymoon may still be in effect. In Asia, impatience is beginning to replace hope. This is, perhaps as it should be. For the initiative and responsibility to create a new history belong rightfully to the people, not to foreign leaders of powerful governments.

Nevertheless, if the Carter Administration is seriously committed to supporting a movement toward democracy and freedom from oppression, there are a number of steps the President could take. He obviously understands well the value of symbolic actions. His letter to Soviet dissident Sakharov was a masterful gesture. But why no similar gesture to equally distinguished democratic spokespersons in Korea? Such a communication would be a welcome signal to the people of Korea that the U.S. commitment to Korea was broader than a commitment to Park Chung Hee.

Another important signal would be the appointment of an ambassador to Seoul whose credentials on human rights are somewhat less compromised than the incumbent Mr. Sneider. His continuation in that post can only be taken as a lack of seriousness toward democracy in Korea.

These are but gestures, and with or without them, the commitment of the people of Korea to the recovery of their human rights is unchanged. Mr. Carter's choice is not whether to make history by taking a lead in human rights, but whether to be supportive of the people who will make their own history. We continue to hope he does not waver from this.

Korea Communiqué

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CONTENTS :

Editorial: Democracy and Unification
Korean Journalists Continue to Suffer Silence, Joblessness
Prayer For Salvation of the Nation - Lee Oo Jong
Overseas Reactions to Trial Verdict:
 Statement by North American Korean Organizations
 Reformed Churches Assembly adopts resolution
 Letter to newspaper challenges Japanese government attitude
Kim Chi Ha Given Unfair Trial
Amnesty International Report Scores Korean Torture
Japanese Women Christians Denied ROK Visas

DEMOCRACY AND UNIFICATION

International movements of solidarity with national struggles sometimes find themselves being used for ends different than they intend. Particularly in the case of Korea, the complexities of intrigue between the North and South Korean governments frequently entangle well-meaning friends in unsuspecting roles, so that they end up being manipulated by forces hostile to the healthy and autonomous growth of democracy in Korea. Natural caution among movements in such circumstances leads easily to suspicion, which can then be manipulated by KCIA or agents of the North into open conflict. Such suspicion can only be avoided by honest and open dialogue among allies and by following carefully the guidance of democratic voices inside Korea.

A recent example of this problem is the series of events that followed the International Emergency Conference on Korea, which was held in Tokyo August 12-14, 1976 under the sponsorship of Japanese peace activists and a Japan-based Korean opposition group. This conference took strong positions favoring unification of the Korean peninsula on the basis of the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration of North and South calling for the removal of foreign troops and the restoration of civil liberties in the South. However, statements made about the conference and followup events in Europe have created much confusion, lending credence to the mistaken notion that the position of North Korean government and the democratic opposition in the South were the same. Whether this was an honest mistake or deliberate manipulation is not clear. The net effect, however, is to jeopardize considerably the position of South Korean friends as they struggle under the harsh anti-communist regime in South Korea.

The only sure remedy to such unfortunate effects is for international friends of democracy in Korea to discipline themselves to following the lead of Korean democratic opposition spokespersons. The position of the democratic opposition in South Korea on the issues of restoration of democracy and human rights has been very clear and is stated in numerous statements issued by the movement in South Korea. The question of security and peace in Korea has also been constantly deliberated within the movement in the light of the rapidly changing international situation and domestic repression. In due time a clear

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position on the issues of unification and US military presence may be possible, but at the moment to allow Park Chung Hee to negotiate unification without the democratic support of the Korean people is to risk selling the country's future short of its real goal, the participation of all the people in the making of their own destiny.

In this respect, there are real limits to the historical parallels to be drawn from the Vietnamese experience. The recent international conferences have mobilized many of the international friends of peace who were active against the Vietnam War. Such broadening of concern for Korea is most welcome! However, there are certain dangers in adapting to the Korean situation the principles and analysis of events that served well the cause of peace in Vietnam. The most significant difference is the absence of a third force, capable of moderating the claims of either side in order to construct a new future. In this historically different setting, there is no choice for the immediate future but to continue to support the voices for democratization in the South in the hope that such a force can become an actuality that will be able to negotiate from a position of strength and solid citizen backing with the forces in both halves of the peninsula that now manipulate the people's desires for partisan advantage.

Within this setting, we hope that our friends and allies in the struggle for democracy in Korea will understand the caution we express toward certain types of international solidarity. Our position as friends and supporters of Korean democracy is, and must remain, subject to the corrections and guidance of the South Korean opposition, including Christians. We invite our colleagues to exercise a similar self-discipline, for the sake of Korea's future.

KOREAN JOURNALISTS CONTINUE TO SUFFER SILENCE, JOBLESSNESS

In the spring of 1975, the Park regime brought about the collapse of free journalism in Korea, by forcing the firing or resignation of many of the nation's most courageous and honest journalists. From Dong-a Ilbo, a daily which had a proud free tradition, one hundred thirty two reporters and editors were fired. Thirty four others were expelled from Chosun Ilbo. For over a year, the dismissed reporters have struggled to make a living, but government interference has kept all of them from getting any work related to their profession. In many cases, even their wives or husbands were prevented from finding work.

Facing such a desperate situation, many of these journalists formed a committee to struggle for their jobs and appealed - in vain - in the courts to have their dismissals overturned. Two leaders of the struggle committee were imprisoned as a result of their effort.

Now, more than a year later, their condition is somewhat stabilized but continues to be precarious. Most have found work of some sort, in factories or as translators and eke out a marginal life. But five of these journalists are in serious need. They include one of the leaders of the Dong-a Struggle Committee whose husband is ill and about to lose his position; another leader still in prison, a third leader recently released from prison but unable to find work, and a fourth man with seven family members to support from part-time translating. One former Chosun Ilbo reporter is also in critical shape with a liver ailment and unable to work. Friends overseas who came to the support of Dong-a Ilbo last year when it was under attack are asked to remember these persons who continue to be deprived of their livelihood by the Park regime's harassment.

PRAYER FOR SALVATION OF THE NATION

- by Lee Oo Jong

The following prayer was given on August 27 at a prayer meeting held by KNCC (Korean National Christian Council). It was given prior to the sentencing of the defendants in the trial related to the March 1 Myong Dong Incident.

Lord, our loving father, you gave a human body to your beloved son and sent him to this land instead of being seated on high and commanding human beings only by words. Besides, you made your son to be born in a humble stable and to be a poor laborer so that he could taste the unhappiness of the life of the poorest and experience the violence of men of power. He opposed and struggled against power, he stood on the side of the oppressed and lived their life. We thank you, Father, for showing us the good example to follow. Father, you taught us not only by word but you came in a body and taught us how precious human beings are. You made us realize that the body of the neighbour is our body, the pain of neighbour is our pain. You taught us and your son lived in a body and sacrificed his life. We heartily thank you, Father, for showing us the life of Jesus Christ, for ordering us to follow him and for showing the way.

Our Father, if you had not shown us an example by sending us your son in a body, we would have lived like animals in corruption who only think of filling their own stomachs and think of their own prosperity or promotion, and who kill, rob and step on others. We would have had no other way but to repeat such a wretched animal-like life. But you showed us how to live like human beings and you showed us the possibility. We heartily thank you for preventing us from living like animals and for calling us with your special favor.

There will be a sentencing trial tomorrow. Please remember these 18 persons. We understood through earlier trials that these so-called political persons did this work based on their religious belief and conviction rather than political belief. They tried to build the kingdom of God with their religious determination. Pastors, who receive and tell your words, tried to be your faithful servants out of their mission of responding to your call. We heard them express their convictions at the court that they had been arrested for calling right things right and wrong things wrong.

Professors, who teach the truth of your words and of general knowledge, taught what they believe, in order to make the next generation of this country very human, and to make this country filled with truly human people. And they were dismissed from school. We heard them say that they made the declaration out of their religious belief that the country had to be changed. They criticized and advised the government, and they were arrested and put on trial.

Our Father, what we heartily pray now is that you will enable us to follow their belief. We believe that you know what they are thinking and what they are praying tonight in jail. As unarrested defendants and as the members of the families of the arrested, we pray you, Father, may we pray with all our hearts that your will will be done. Whatever may result from the trial tomorrow, please make us disinterested in the result. Give us faith, courage, and patience so that we can overcome the situation as christians who pray that your intention will come true in this land.

Our Father, we also pray that you will be, not only with the ones who were arrested in the Myong Dong Incident and their families, but also with all the other students and intellectuals who fight for democracy, and with all the other arrested persons. I cannot call their names one by one, but out of their conscience and convictions, they believed that it was the only way that our country can live and they cried out and were arrested. May all of their effort and sacrifice not become empty. Even if we cannot harvest the crop at once

may it remain as a testimony in Korean history, and please lead and bless us so that each one of us may become a grain to make our country a good land to live in for our children and grandchildren. May all the efforts and sacrifice of those people ripen eternally and there may not be persons again who are put on trial by the Emergency measures. May there be no persons who are taken to the police or the KCIA and forced to make false confessions contrary to their conscience. May there never be such violence against human rights that men are sold as things. May there never be a tragedy again that journalists cannot report with their conscience what they see and hear. May there be no professors who cannot give lectures with their convictions and who are dismissed from school. Father, may there be no pastors who receive inspections or are called out to the police or jailed, only for confessing right and wrong. Father, please bless us so that students don't have to obey orders, so that their creativity will not be lost and so that the young people can make their ability and creativity come alive and work for the country by their own decision, and not be crushed or killed. May our young people become able to speak freely and discuss freely and choose their beliefs and help the nation. Please help us to grow such courageous, unhanpered young people.

May the members of the Diet become able to criticize the government and become able to speak out for the right again. May there never be another case in this land where a judge convicts a person knowing that he or she is innocent. Father, may all the sincere desires of these people come true, may there be no anguished mothers or painfully pleading wives. Please give us strength so that we can love our neighbors as we love ourselves, care and help each other and can make this land a land of heaven. Please give us strong religious conviction and patience to endure. May we become persons who entrust the whole of our lives into your hands.

Many of us are gathered like this today. Please accept our prayers and bless each one of us. Although we cannot submit a challenge and cannot speak in our defense, please understand the painful heart of the defendants who will put on trial tomorrow, the judge and lawyers, and please be with them and bless them.

We pray in the name of Jesus Christ.

Amen.

OVERSEAS REACTIONS TO TRIAL VERDICT

A STATEMENT AGAINST THE VERDICT

We, 50 million Korean people, are facing a "yoke of slavery" today because of two dictatorial systems: the communist dictatorship in North Korea and the one-man rule in South Korea. This in spite of the fact that 30 years have passed since the liberation from Japanese rule on August 15, 1945. Those involved with the March 1st Statement were trying to achieve the dream of peace, of social justice, and of freedom in the same spirit as those who worked to end the Japanese occupation.

Those involved in the March 1st incident have suffered greatly, but their difficulties are not singular but are a part of a larger suffering involving various freedom fighters, committed students, and religious leaders. Together they are struggling as a symbol of their faithfulness and patriotism and as a token of their willingness to sacrifice for democracy--not as any evidence of a struggle for power.

Christian politicians like Yun Po-Sun, former President; Chung Il-Hyung, former minister of Foreign Affairs; and Kim Dae-Jung, former candidate for the Presidency, made clear that they were serving only to express the will and voice of the Korean people. We cannot believe that they attempted to overthrow the military-centered power. Needless to say, they were among those witnessing to the truth. With the wrath that arose only from an anguished people, we were disturbed with the prosecution's demand. Since harsh sentences were meted out to innocent persons, we can believe that the sentences only represent the reactionary revenge of a dictatorial regime.

In this statement we cannot disclose all the vicious maneuverings of the Park administration. Traitorous corrupt involvements with monopolistic multinational corporations and the building up of tensions between North and South Korea through the incitement to anti-communist paranoia are only two examples. The fundamental sins of this dictatorial regime are violations of human rights and the destruction of social justice by repression of basic human freedoms and dignity.

Therefore, we raise our common voices together to achieve the following objectives:

- (1) To free the democratic national leaders, prominent Christian professors and devoted church leaders who were imprisoned with sentences of from 2 to 8 years.
- (2) To restore democracy in Korea by removing the Yushin Constitution and Presidential Special Decree No. 9.

August 30, 1976

World Council for Democracy in Korea
The Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America
Southern California Committee to Restore Democracy in Korea
Committee for Democratic Korea in Toronto
Chicago Church Committee for Human Rights in Korea
Council for Democracy in Korea
Thursday Korea Prayer Meeting Group of New York
Korean Congress for Democracy and Unification

REFORMED CHURCHES SCORE REPRESSION IN SOUTH KOREA

PRINCETON, N.J. (NC) -- Repression of civil rights and justice in South Korea has been condemned in a resolution adopted by the North American and Caribbean Area Council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Delegates to the annual meeting of the council here, representing 16 Reformed, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean, directed the regional church body's general secretary to "communicate our condemnation of the repressive tactics of the government of South Korea" to appropriate government officials in the United States and Canada, and to the secretary general of the United Nations.

While the resolution was aimed specifically at the government of President Park Chung Hee, whose strictures on free expression and other domestic policies have been scored by many Catholic and Protestant leaders and agencies, it also expressed disapproval of other totalitarian governments.

"We acknowledge our snock and shame at the hypocrisy of individual nations in the world community regarding civil and religious liberty and adequate economic support for all people," the statement said.

The council also sent copies of the resolution to the Republican and Democratic presidential nominees and to the League of Women Voters, with the request that the candidates be asked to express their positions on U.S. foreign policy toward the South Korean government in their forthcoming public debates.

The statement also affirmed Christian solidarity with the churches of South Korea in their struggles for civil and religious freedom, and gave assurance of the council's prayers and concerns for them.

LETTER TO NEWSPAPER CHALLENGES JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

- Translated from the Asahi Shimbun's 'Koe' columns -

Editor:

It is reported that the condition of Kim Dae Jung, now being detained in a detention house in Seoul, is worse and that he may die from his illness. * Japan and the Japanese people should assume a big part of the responsibility for the human rights and the life of Kim, an Opposition leader of South Korea. Kim's abduction from a Tokyo hotel has never been thoroughly unrevealed and the responsibility of those who organized and carried out the abduction has not been fully explained until today. The governments of Japan and South Korea politically settled the issue in July last year on the understanding that no public authority of the Republic of Korea had taken part in the kidnaping of Kim.

However, a chief of South Korean affairs in the U.S. Ministry of State later witnessed in the Congress that the abduction was planned and carried out by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). Consequently, the political settlement between Japan and the ROK today has no foundation. Therefore, the Japanese Government must directly accept its responsibility to protect the life and the human rights of Kim from the standpoints of both of moral and international law. At the same time, the Japanese people should assume their responsibility to make their Government fulfill its duties.

As one of such Japanese people, I would like the Government to immediately take actions to guarantee the life and the human rights of the ailing Korean Opposition leader.

Naruhiko Ito, 44
University professor

(Asahi Evening News, Sept 30, 1976)

*(Mrs. Kim Dae Jung, interviewed recently in Seoul, expressed great concern for the health of her husband as well as the other prisoners. She is allowed to visit her husband only once a week for 10 minutes. He is unable to walk or lie down without assistance due to arthritis but is kept alone in a cell without aid or medication except for the brief time when she or his lawyer visits him each week. Weakened by a cold he has lost much weight, and faces the severe Korean winter in prison without the physical strength to survive, it is feared. Mrs. Kim reports his spirit is, however strong.)

POET KIM SAYS COURT NOT GIVING FAIR TRIAL

SEOUL (AP) --- Dissident poet Kim Chi Ha Tuesday challenged a court he cannot receive a fair trial from a three judge panel trying him on charges of being a Communist agent in the Roman Catholic Church.

Kim's motion to reject the panel came after the court turned down a defense proposal to hear Stephen Cardinal Kim as a special defense counsel. The court also rejected a defense motion to call Bishop Daniel Tji, of the Wonju diocese to which Kim belongs, and three other persons, including a novelist, as defense witnesses.

After the decision, the 35-year-old poet told the court that the trial deals not only with his honor and prestige, but also that of the entire Roman Catholic Church.

He said he wanted to have a fair trial to avoid the unwarranted stigma of being labeled a Communist.

Kim, already serving a life sentence on an earlier conviction for anti-government activities in 1974, has denied he is a Communist. The trial began May 19 of last year.

(The Japan Times, Sept, 30, 1976)

ASIANS HAVE HAD RIGHTS OVERRIDDEN: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

LONDON (Kyodo - Reuter) -- The international human rights organization Amnesty International Sunday said virtually every country in Asia had overridden human rights with decrees and special laws.

Throughout Asia, the report stresses, there is increasingly, employment of "sophisticated" torture techniques, including application of electric shock and beating designed to leave no visible scars.

"Amnesty International" points out that in many Asian countries, suspects are thrown into prison after interrogation and their case files become lost in "a maze of administrative inefficiency and incompetence." Such prisoners find themselves kept for many years in captivity without justifiable cause.

The report singles out the Republic of Korea as the main Asian country where "torture can be said to be employed systematically in order to intimidate."

The report concludes that it can be said of hardly any Asian country that the judiciary in the exercise of its functions "acts with integrity and faith in ordinary principles of justice."

(The Japan Times and Mainichi Daily News, Sept. 27, 1976)

ROK EMBASSY DENIES VISAS TO CHRISTIANS

The South Korean Embassy in Tokyo has turned down the visa applications of five Japanese women who planned to attend a Christian symposium in South Korea, it was learned Tuesday.

The five women, including Akiko Yamaguchi, secretary of the National Christian Council of Japan, were among seven Japanese delegates to a women's symposium of the Asian Christian Council scheduled to be held in Suwon, south of Seoul, from Wednesday.

The symposium is to discuss the role of Christian women in Asia. Participants are to include delegates from South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and other countries in Asia.

All seven Japanese delegates applied for tourist visas with the South Korean Embassy on Sept. 10 through a tourist agency. But the embassy gave permits to only two of them.

The incident follows increasing cases of South Korea's refusal of entry visas to Japanese wishing to attend court hearings for political suspects.

(Mainichi Daily News, Sept. 22, 1976)

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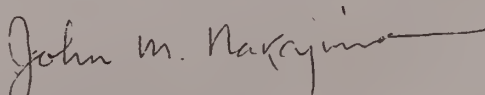
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KIM DAE JUNG AND OTHERS RECEIVE STIFF SENTENCES

- Korean Christians Vow to Continue Struggle

Once again external events have provided South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee the opportunity to attempt to crush the democratic opposition to his regime. On August 28, while world attention was focused on the increased tension at Panmunjom, Park ordered Seoul District Court Judge Jun Sang Suk to find Kim Dae Jung and 17 other defendants guilty of violating Emergency Decree No. 9 for having participated in a mass on March 1 at Myong Dong Cathedral in Seoul in which the "Declaration for National Democratic Salvation" was read. Former president candidate Mr. Kim, President Yun Po Sun, Quaker leader Hahm Suk Hon, known as the "Gandhi of Korea" and Rev. Moon Ik Hwan of Hankuk Theological Seminary were each sentenced to eight years imprisonment plus eight years loss of civil liberty. All of the other 14 defendants were sentenced to terms from two to five years, with equal periods of loss of civil rights.

Such harsh sentences can only be understood as a vindictive effort by Park to use the courts to silence and destroy his critics. Of the four sentenced, to eight years imprisonment, three are elderly or in frail health. Kim Dae Jung, who narrowly lost to Park Chung Hee in Korea's last democratic election in 1971, has been in fragile health every since he was injured in an auto accident under strange circumstances shortly after that election. His health worsened as a result of the treatment he received when he was kidnapped by the KCIA from a Tokyo hotel in 1973 and brought forcibly to Seoul, where he was kept without adequate medical care and under virtual house arrest until March 5 this year, when he was once again taken into detention. His health has further deteriorated under the conditions of detention, to murder him by medical neglect in prison. Ex-President Yun Po Sun and Quaker elder Hahm Suk Hon, both in their seventies, have also received extremely harsh sentences. Shortly before the sentencing, Hahm wrote a political last will and testament in the form of a letter to friends around the world, fully expecting that this imprisonment might be his last. (See the following text, p.10). Yun Po Sun also issued a strong statement to the press on August 14 reiterating his commitment to democracy.

Sentences for the other fourteen defendants ranged from two to five years. Receiving five year terms, with five years additional loss of civil liberties, were: former Foreign Minister Chung Il Hyun, Rev. Moon Dong Whan, Dr. Lee Moon Young, Rev. Yun Ban Ung, Fr. Hahm Sei Woong, Fr. Shin Hyun Bong, Fr. Moon Jung Hyun, attorney Lee Tai Young, and Professor Lee Oo Jung. Professor Suh Nam Dong received a four year sentence, Prof. Ahn Byung Moo and Rev. Lee Hae Dong were given three years each, and Frs. Kim Sung Hun and Chang Tok Pil were sentenced to two years.

All of the defendants have filed an appeal to the higher court, but no date for the hearing has yet been set.

Reaction to the sentences in Seoul was one of disappointment but not surprise. It has been clear from the beginning that this was a political trial, that the judicial officials were not free to make independent judgments on the basis of evidence, and that the result was subject only to the whim of the president.

In fact, the court proceedings, from the first through the final session, were rated by legal observers from the International Commission of Jurists, as bizarre and unreal from a legal perspective. No witnesses were allowed for the defense, nor were any appeals to the judge for fair rulings on procedure upheld. Spectators and family members were harrowed. Contact between lawyers and defendants was limited. The Judge consistently took the side of the prosecution in every dispute, and in his summary statement at the time of the sentencing, offered no opinion on the case that in any particular differed from the charges of the prosecution. In fact, the proceedings of the trial were considered so unfair by the defense attorneys that the entire panel of 27 lawyers resigned in protest on August 3 when the judge ruled that the defense could call no witnesses, although witness had been allowed for the prosecution.

Kim Dae Jung, who was allowed a visit with his wife for ten minutes several days after the sentencing, told her of his resolve to accept as God's will his own incarceration as a victim in the struggle for democracy, but he expressed disappointment that none of the others was released. He also stated he was saddened that the judge had been so under the control of external forces that he could not even state his own opinion in handing down the sentenced.

The families of the defendants immediately issued a protest statement condemning the trial as an empty formality. Recalling the court's rejection of evidence, the harassment of spectators and family members, the statement said that such conditions reminded them of a communist dictatorship, that they had no interest in the judge's verdict but would only continue to pray for the restoration of democracy to Korea.

Supportive actions have taken place throughout the country. In Kwangju and Mokpo, large gatherings issued statements in support of the March 1 Declaration [see below] Elsewhere, Christian leaders declared their resolve to continue to struggle against the destruction of democracy by Park Chung Hee. The harsh sentences handed down on the 28th have only served to fan the flames of dedicated patriotic resistance among the Christians of Korea, in continuity with the tradition of resistance to the Japanese during the period of colonial rule.

If this is the result of the trials, why has Park chosen to deal so harshly with the March 1 defendants? Speculation in Seoul had ranged widely in the weeks prior to the sentencing. Many persons had anticipated lighter sentences as a sign of Park Chung Hee's "benevolence" and as a nod to the international pressure that has mounted regarding this trial. Others thought Park might find Kim Dae Jung and a few others guilty, put Kim away and let the others go. Other speculation anticipated an amnesty, perhaps on August 15. But the actual results of the trial seem to indicate the Park regime was too insecure for such a gesture. Escalating protests among Christians and a sharp incline in labor unrest are but two signs of increasing dissatisfaction with the Park regime's policies. It is also rumored that increasing numbers of middle level bureaucrats and military officers are beginning to waver in their loyalty to Park. Perhaps it is not coincidental that the annual Military Day parade, which traditionally brings a large show of armaments and troops to Seoul, scheduled for October 3rd this year, has just been cancelled without explanation.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the precarious economic situation of South Korea. The government published earlier this summer its Third Five Year Plan. According to that plan, recovery from the crippling imbalance of payments will require in foreign loans and US\$ 10 billion investment in the next five years, More than twice the current rate. For this, Park considers absolute stability a necessary requirement. Cheap and docile labor and political quiet are his only advantages over other third world countries. And so the people are sacrificed to the Park regimes need to repay foreign creditors in Japan and the U.S.

Whatever the explanation, Park Chung Hee has once again invited the contempt of the people of Korea and all friends of freedom throughout the world. By turning the screw one notch tighter against democratic forces in Korea, Park has only hastened his own downfall and the resurrection of freedom.

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TO KIM TRIAL VERDICT

Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the former Presidential candidate and political rival of Park Chung Hee, who was sentenced to eight years in prison, was kidnapped by the KCIA from a Tokyo hotel in August, 1973. At that time the Japanese Government made a political "deal" to settle the matter of the kidnapping with the Park regime. As a result, the investigation into the kidnapping led to no arrests, in spite of overwhelming evidence that Korean government officials had been directly involved. Thus the Japanese government participated in the trampling of Kim Dae Jung's human rights.

The reaction of the Japanese government to the sentencing of Kim Dae Jung was typically mute. Foreign Ministry officials declined to comment "on the internal affairs of another country", in spite of the fact that this sentencing infringed upon an agreement that the Miki government was said to have made with Park guaranteeing the freedom of Mr. Kim.

Japanese newspaper editorials made it clear, in sharp contrast to the official government reaction, that it was a political trial the primary aim of which was to permanently destroy the political life of Mr. Kim. Opposition parties, citizens' groups and Christians in Japan protested the verdict and put the blame partially on the silence of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party government of Japan.

In fact, despite its silence, the Japanese government is worried about Park's handling of Mr. Kim's case because of rising public opposition both in Japan and internationally. They are afraid that the upswell in public concern might break open the corrupt and sinister relationship between Japanese ruling political and economic groups and the Park regime, relationships which the Lockheed scandal investigation has so far barely touched upon. (see below, p.11).

In the U.S., Secretary of State Kissinger has been obliged to pass on a note of concern regarding the violations of human rights to the Park government. Outwardly the note was of a general nature, but it is obvious that, in the election campaign, President Ford is finding it necessary to respond more aggressively to the rising public concern in the U.S. about human rights in Korea. The Ford administration worries about Park's ruthlessness and stubbornness. This tarnishes Ford's election image, as the American people compare Ford's support of Park to Nixon's support of Thieu in Vietnam.

President Ford feels more pressure on this issue because his opponent Jimmy Carter has taken a rather clear position on human rights in Korea. Also, the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs voted unanimously to demand the nullification of the sentences of the 18 persons of the March First incident and the unconditional release of all the defendants. This direct governmental challenge to the "internal affairs of another country" represents the mood of the U.S. electorate, which is coming to recognize human rights as one of the major factors in foreign affairs in this election. It is also a response to ex-Korean president Yun Po Son's appeal to the U.S. government to intervene in the cause of freedom in Korea.

In West-Germany, Socialist Party member H. Sieglerschmidt protested with telegrams to Pres. Park and the chairman of the Korean parliament against the unfair trial and sentences. Also, in an open letter to Pres. Park, the Evangelical Church wrote that the sentences indicate the loss of human rights in Korea, since the 18 defendants were only attempting an open discussion of national problems.

Recently, inner circles around Park Chung Hee express great concern about the rise in international opinion about human rights in Korea. The Park regime depends totally upon the support of U.S. and Japanese political and economic circles; therefore, the peoples in Japan and the U.S. as well as in other parts of the world can make a big difference in supporting the Korean people's struggle for democracy and human rights.

JAPAN GROUPS PROTEST RULING

Hunger Strikers Against Kim Ruling (Aug. 26-28, 1976)

Thirteen Japanese Christians and citizens went on a hunger strike in Tokyo Thursday, August 26th, in protest against the up coming ruling on South Korean opposition leader Kim Dae Jung and 17 other dissidents.

The strikers said they would continue the protest action until Saturday when the Seoul District Court pronounces verdicts on anti-government charges.

The protestors declared in a statement that the defendants had risen not to topple the Park Chung Hee government but to restore freedom, democracy and fundamental human rights in South Korea.

(Mainichi Daily News, Aug. 28, 1976)

Statement (by Japanese Christians)

Eighteen Christian leaders in South Korea have been on trial at Seoul District Court. They were indicted on charge of intending to overthrow the present government. They are the ones related to issuing the March 1 Declaration on National Democratic Salvation.

On Saturday August 28, they will be sentenced. The prosecutors had demanded 10 to 3 year imprisonment for all of them. There is no trace of their intending to overthrow the government in the Declaration on National Democratic Salvation nor in their witnesses before the court. On the contrary, their expression is sincerely based upon their strong Christian conviction to love their own country and their people. They chose to obey God rather than the evil powers of the world.

In order to express our concern and solidarity with their struggle, we the Japanese Christians are spending three days here with a hunger strike as our symbolic action.

We want those Korean Christian leaders to be released and to be restored to their freedom to act as their Christian conviction directs them. We want our own government which is helping the dictatorial Park regime to change its policy toward South Korea.

August 26 - 28, 1976

National Christian Council of Japan
Japan Baptist Convention
United Church of Christ in Japan
Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems

Kim's Supporters Decry Verdict As 'Treasonous'

"The Sentence is unpardonable," shouted Japanese Christians who were staging a hunger strike in Tokyo when they heard of the news from South Korea that the Seoul District Court sentenced 18 political dissidents, including Kim Dae Jung, to prison terms ranging from two to eight years.

Masaaki Nakajima, leader of the hunger strikers who were staging fund-raising and signature-collecting campaigns since Thursday at Sukiya-bashi Park in Ginza for the support of Kim Dae Jung and others, said that the sentence is quite unreasonable. However, he admitted that the sentence came out as they had expected.

(Mainichi Daily News, Aug. 29, 1976)

Anti-Park Groups in Japan Denounce Sentencing of Kim

About 100 protestors belonging to the Liaison Council for the Solidarity of Japan and South Korea (Nikkan-ren) demonstrated before the South Korean Embassy in Tokyo Saturday afternoon after a Seoul court sentenced former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and other Dissenters to imprisonment. About 150 riot police stepped in as the demonstrators and pro-Park groups threatened to clash in front of the embassy in Minami-Azabu, Minato Ward.

Addressing the rally, Haruki Wada, an associate professor at the University of Tokyo, said the presidential decree of the Park regime was illegal.

About 30 members of the South Korean Youth League, which is also opposed to Park, distributed handbills in Ginza to protest the court decision.

The National Congress for Restoration of Democracy and Reunification of Korea (Kanmintu), which is critical of the Park regime, issued a statement denouncing the court ruling.

The statement said that the declaration announced by Kim's group drew enthusiastic support not only from the Korean people but also from the peoples of the World.

"The longer the Park regime continues its useless struggle, the stronger resistance it will face both from the Korean people and international opinion," it said.

Shin Aochi, a Japanese critic who has been campaigning to save Kim for the past three years, expressed fear that Kim would never come out of prison alive because of his poor health.

Aochi held the Japanese Government partly responsible for the harsh sentences Kim and the others received.

(The Japan Times, August 29, 1976)

FINAL STATEMENTS BY THE DEFENDANTS OF MYONG DONG TRIAL (AUG. 3, 1976)
(Summary)

KIM DAE JUNG (Request of Sentence 10-10):

I prepared for this, but since our defense lawyers resigned and also rejected this court I do not intend to make a final speech. Anyhow, the prosecutor's speech was just groundless and arbitrary. I feel badly about this. I feel badly because the judge rejected our witnesses without giving a proper reason. If you are going to find out the truth, we have to have an opportunity to defend ourselves. But you rejected that chance. Your decision is so biased that I refuse to make a final speech.

MOON IK HWAN (10 - 10):

I was ready to make a dialogue with the governments. And since the prosecutor did not ask anything about the contents of the statement, I did not know what important point I should make clear. After I heard your speech I knew what it is, that makes us criminals. In the statement we blamed the government and you accepted only the government's opinion. In this way, you don't get an objective picture. I imagined it is difficult for you judges to do your job properly. So I thought to reject you, in order to release you from this responsibility. I do not want to make a final speech.

LEE TAI YOUNG (7 - 7)

I have many things to say. When I heard the prosecutor's speech I was shocked at its excesses. The prosecutor said things which had nothing to do with me or the other 17 people, because they were groundless exaggerations. This thing started in my house. When Kim Dae Jung visited my place he said clearly that students are still in prison and March 1 is coming nearer. How can we pass that day without doing anything? At least we should ask for their release. That was his real motivation, not toppling the government or agitating the people etc. When Rev. Moon Ik Hwan visited my place about the 1 of March, all he had to say was that we had to speak about the future of our country. So you prosecutors misunderstood their motivation. You said we are a minority. But if we are right, you should respect the minority's opinion. You said we have respect for western democracy. But this is not true. In the statement or in our speeches we didn't say that. What we said was about the basic principle of democracy, that is, equality and freedom. Even

this concept or structure should come from the people. Only that kind of democracy will give a future to our country. This kind of democracy is the only way to prevent communism. In your speech you claimed we are patriots in name only. But under Japanese rule, my husband was imprisoned many times because he was involved in the independence movement. While those patriots were suffering in prison, where were the people who are now in the present government? Is there no one who was carrying guns to torture these patriots in Manchuria? Which other patriots, people who are in the present government, formed some organization to fight against Japan? What did they do? In your speech you said, under the democratic party after the April 19 [1960] student uprising, we failed to practise western style democracy. But there was less than 8 months given -- then someone took over with guns. My husband spoke up much in the National Assembly. But those wrong things were not corrected. So this time he tried with paper, not with his mouth. My husband belongs to the opposition party. The function of an opposition party is to criticise the government's policy and giving advise. My husband did his duty. Those people just read a piece of paper and have to accept 10, 7 and 5 years in prison. Is it such a heavy crime? Is this for the benefit of the nation? This is not my protest but my appeal.

LEE OO JONG (7 - 7): Refused to speak

HAHM SEI WOONG (7 - 7):

Thomas Aquinas said that justice and reason are prior to the law. He also said that law without reason and justice is only violence. The Emergency Measure, which oppresses the truth and the conscience, is a bad law. Also to give all the power to one person to become an absolute being, is to make an idol. Our religious faith does not allow this. To reject the witness for the defense is to conceal the facts and fabricate a story.

MOON DONG HWAN (7 - 7):

At first I thought it was no use to make a final speech, because the prosecutor's speech was of no value, it was so groundless and exaggerated. If North Korea is going to invade the South, we have to fight against Communism. But in the long run, in the future, we have to aim for unification. Our purpose cannot be anti-communism forever.

SHIN HYUN BONG (7 - 7): Refused to speak

LEE MOON YOUNG:

I think, your prosecutors' examinations are groundless. I found some contradictions, because you claimed we didn't press human rights, but you said in the indictment that because of the national security situation we need some restrictions of freedom, and therefore we need the Yushin Constitution. That means you are admitted you oppressing human rights by the structure itself. Then you turned around to say we have freedom of speech, etc. This also contradicts what you said when you claimed that we distorted the truth and you didn't suppress human rights. Let us talk about the laborers' problems. You said, we have no right to speak about economic or labor problems, because we are not experts. But we wrote in a simple way so anybody with conscience can understand, saying that the rich get richer by exploiting the laborers. About foreign debts I learned, we have 100,000 KCIA -- men and salary for them would cost some 1 billion won. What is the source for this budget? (for it does not appear in the official budget!) Because of foreign debts, you oppress human rights. In your speech, you should have proven your contentions, but you didn't. You said that for national security reasons we can suppress human rights. But I can testify that by suppressing human rights we cannot expect real national security. A good example is Vietnam, or Chiang Kai Shek's innocent. But I insist we are right. I don't mind being imprisoned, because Jesus suffered much because of his righteous activities. So I am comforted to follow his way. If you find all of these 18 as not guilty, the people in the world could say, "in Seoul, in Korea, there is still God working."

LEE HAE DONG (5 - 5):

Until today I served a small suburban church, teaching church members to be honest and to live conscientiously. You prosecutors said in your speech that to have religious faith does not mean to have special rights. We never insisted on special rights, but we insisted on basic rights of freedom of religion. I think freedom of speech and press are the same too. We are in a situation that if you beat us, we will be beaten, if you kill us, we will be killed. There is no other way. But we will not surrender to you. You cannot hold us in your hands. In the Bible it is written, you should not be afraid of those, who can kill the flesh only. The one thing I am afraid of, is that I cannot follow God exactly according to his will. When idealism dominates reality, we can have a better history. We have no future. I think these defendants have high ideals. I hope their idealism will not become besmirched or destroyed, in order to create a better history.

SUH NAM DONG (5 - 5):

Since all the defense lawyers have resigned and withdrawn, I have decided not to make a final speech.

AHN BYUNG MOO (5 - 5):

Some American said, "The government which rules least rules best." But in our country, he who interferes and oppresses most powerfully is seen as an able leader. According to the experience of my whole life, the democratic spirit is basic in politics and in economics. My only desire is to keep this country democratic. I hope there will be no more Emergency Measure. This trial should be the last one to be ruled by Emergency Measures.

MOON JUNG HYUN (7 - 7): I want to ask the judge to accept my request to call Kim Chi Ha and his mother as my witness.

Judge: This has already been refused.

Moon: Then I say nothing.

YUN BANG UN (7 - 7): One thing you claimed I said, that I cannot accept Park Chung Hee as president. After all, Park Chung Hee is not Kim [Il Sung]. We people have a right to elect the president and we can say what he has done wrong and we can criticize. This is not insulting. When he does things improperly, we can pray for him to step down.

The wives of political prisoners have begun to crochet "Victory Shawls". The following statement was sent to us by one of them.

The color of purple became our symbol and lavender dresses were worn by the wives for our demonstrations and our prayer sessions. Purple is the Christian symbolic color for suffering and victory - in Korea the national flower is lavender - the Rose of Sharon. While waiting in line at the prison or waiting for the end of the trial session we began crocheting a purple victory shawl.

- 1. A "V" shape for Victory.*
- 2. Purple for Suffering. Victory and Love of our country.*
- 3. For each tiny "V" pattern four stitches are needed - it takes 4 words in Korean to say The Recovery of Democracy, Min Chu Hoe Bok. As we crochet, instead of shedding tears we repeat the words Min Chu Hoe Bok.*
- 4. For the completion of one Victory Shawl a total of 10,000 stitches are needed. This means we need 10,000 voices of support for each shawl. We need your voice speaking to your government.*

Please urge the Christian women to join us in crocheting these shawls and let them become the symbol of unity!

ARRESTS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTERS IN KWANGJU CITY

CHONNAM PROVINCE, KOREA

Since the March 1st Prayer Incident (Declaration of Democratic National Salvation: March 1st, 1976, Seoul Myong Dong Cathedral) there has been various responses from Churches in Korea. One of these is the statement issued by ministers in Kwangju. The statement was originally resolved by the Presbytery Committee to Protect the Freedom of Mission entrusted by the regular session of the Chonnam Presbytery, R.O.K. Presbyterian Church on April 22, 1976. (See the attached statement).

The Statement was read in a prayer meeting for the arrested ministers in Yangnim Church in Kwangju, Chonnam Province on August 10, 1976. This was later called as the second Declaration of Democratic National Salvation.

As a result of this action, six ministers have been indicted and at least ten other have been taken in for questioning and then released. The indicted ministers include:

Rev. Kang Shin-Sok	(Pastor Mokpo Yondong Church; Secretary of the Committee to Protect Freedom of Mission, Chonnam Presbytery; indicted on Aug. 30), read the statement.
Rev. Im Ki-Jun	(Pastor, Changheung Church; Chairman of the above committee; indicted on Aug. 30).
Rev. Cho Hong-Lai	(Pastor, Muan First Presby Church; moderator of the Chonnam Presbytery; indicted on Aug. 30).
Rev. Yun Ki-Sok	(Pastor, Kang Jin Church; Secretary of the same presbytery; indicted on Aug. 30)
Yu Yon-Chang	(Pastor, Baptist Church in Kwangju, Moderator of local Christian Council; indicted Aug. 30)
Koh Min-Yong	(Pastor; General Secretary of local NCC; indicted Aug. 30)

The nature of the charges in the case of the first four men is not yet certain. The latter two were charged because of their sermons preached on August 22 at their local church services. However the real cause of their arrest stems from their leadership in the local Christian Council and in the Thursday Prayer Meeting in Kwangju.

Four lawyers from Kwangju, Lee Ki-Hong, Yun Chul-Ha, Hong Nam-Sun and Chi Ik-Po will defend the six pastors. They may be joined by lawyers from Seoul.

Since the arrests of the above persons, there has been formed an emergency committee to deal with the situation, and the committee and Human Rights Committee of Korean National Council of Churches have been acting effectively to deal with the situation.

STATEMENT

April 22, 1976

According to the announcement of Prosecution, the Incident of March 1st Prayer Meeting was a propaganda and plot to overthrow the government in order to take over political power. However, we believe that the March First Prayer Meeting was a pure religious act and confession of faith based upon their conscience of faith and patriotic motive, and therefore we firmly believe that it was never a plot to overthrow the government.

We know that the ministers and priests have been advocating again and again for realization of social justice and protection of human rights, and that there has been no single indication or intention to overthrow the government or take

over the power. Therefore, we believe that the March 1st Prayer Meeting could not have any intention of such alleged plot.

Thus we resolve as follows, and appeal to appropriate Channels and to all the Churches of this nation.

Resolutions

1. Release immediately those ministers and priests who are arrested, and who are firm in their opposition to Communism.
2. The March First Prayer Meeting (Myong Dong Incident) is an expression of their patriotism and a confession of faith.
3. Rescind the Yushin (revitalization) Constitution and restore domestic constitution.
4. Our Presbytery resolve firmly to pray and to act as a community of common destiny until the above is realized.

Chonnam Presbytery
Presbyterian Church in R.O.K.

STATEMENT BY STUDENTS AT MOKPO

More than 600 young people, belonging to Presbyterian Church in the R.O.K. gathered at Mokpo from Aug 16 - 20 to discuss the way of "Marching to Hope for Getting Freedom of Glory" (Rm. 8. 18 - 25). The central theme of their work was mission today in the Korean situation of oppression, poverty and fear. On Wednesday, Aug. 18, they all attended a prayer meeting in the Yang Dong Church in Mokpo from 9 - 11 pm. Rev. Un Myong Ki, Moderator of the PROK, preached. The walk back home to the dormitory, about 6 km, turned into a demonstration with singing of freedom songs and spirituals on freedom as well as calling for "release of prisoners" and "boycott Yushin Constitution". Local police accompanied the demonstration. Many citizens of the city applauded the youths as they passed. The next day more than 500 riot police surrounded the campus all day and night to prevent another demonstration. But the meeting of 200 students, 200 working people and 200 young people who are not allowed or not able to find work, concluded by passing the following "Confession of Faith in the People"

Confession of Faith in the People

Ah! A new world has opened in front of our eyes. A time of injustice has passed away and a new time of justice has come. An era of freedom, a new spring with gentle breeze and warm sunshine has finally come after a frozen era of slavery with cold snow. Spring has doubtlessly come even to the wasteland,

Young people! how long have we had to remain silent? Ours has been a continuous history of suffering and exploitation by invasions from other countries. We have strong national consciousness and our people had the patriotic love as their spreme duty, and loyally supported the government, when it is concerned with the destiny of our people. But we have received ill treatment from our own government for such a long time. The people entrusted the government with all power to protect our nation, but they used the power to enslave us in the name of the people. Our cry of anger reached to the heaven. The government suppressed the people's voice by force. For thirty one years since Liberation, the people were forced to be silent like tamed animals. We, young people, stood up and fought to advocate the voice of the people but we were beaten down by clubs and tear bombs. But we stood up again. Kim Chul-Yol was killed by the dictatorship of the Liberal

Party [Syngman Rhee], Chon Tae-Il burned himself to death for the human rights of laborers in the Peace Market and Kim Sang-Jin killed himself with a sword crying out for the restoration of democracy. Following these examples, we said "It is an honour even if we were sentenced to death. We can feel in our hearts the young blood pulsing which was shed on March 1st Independence Movement under Japanese dictatorship. We sense the pulse of the justice in the blood of Chu Yol, Tae Il and Sang Jin. We confess that this pulse is that of the blood of Jesus Christ which was shed for people. We believe that the Declaration read by ministers and priests in Myong Dong Cathedral on last March 1st, and the one issued in Kwangju on August 10th were the true voice of our people and confession of faith that follow Jesus who was crucified for the people.

Therefore, we strongly demand the release of the arrested pastors and leaders. We resolve that we will fight until there comes the liberation of our oppressed people, because we prefer to die standing straight rather than to live bound. This is the way to mission for the people which is to follow Jesus Christ. For this task, we, 600 young Presbyterian believers, confess and declare here in the name of Jesus Christ our resolve to continue the march for glorious freedom with full of hope.

1976. 8. 19.

Signed by all the participants of the National Education Meeting of the National Youth Association of the Presbyterian Church R.O.K.

LETTER TO FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD August 9, 1976

-- FROM KOREAN QUAKER HAHM SOK HON - (Excerpts)

I am writing this letter to you at four o'clock in the morning of August 9, 1976, from Pusan. The eighteen of us who are standing trial in connection with the March First Incident (in which the "Declaration For Democratic National Salvation" was read) are all in good health. All of us are overflowing with spiritual energy.

General public opinion is that the government is too severe, wrong, and childish in its treatment, and we wonder what they think they are doing, but of course no one can publically express these thought. The ones deserving real sympathy are the newspaper reporters. Although they have received permission to attend, with armbands distinguishing them, and are seated in a row as if to form a barrier between defendants and spectators, they are not allowed to publish their detailed notes at all. Even so, the prosecution says their presence proves that freedom of speech exists, and berates us for distorting facts. The occurrences in the courtroom are truly amazing. What we have previously been unable to hear and say openly in newspapers, magazines, churches, and lecture halls, we have been able to freely speak and hear in the courtroom. The prosecution and even the chief judge tried in vain to stop the defendants' spirited testimony.

The Christian Church is divided into two, and this remains a serious problem. Within the Catholic Church, for instance, there is a division between those who feel the church should be active in social problems, and those who feel it should not. This division, however, is not nearly as serious as the one in the Protestant Church. While arguing that the church should not be involved in any political problems, the "evangelical" groups are nonetheless content to go along blindly with whatever the government says. Those who are sharply critical of the repression of freedoms and human rights are a comparatively small number of mostly Presbyterians. While making use of these divisions, the government's position is that "there is no repression of religious freedom". It is my personal judgement that the government is invading the freedom of religion in ways which cannot be covered up. However, I feel that on our side we must be more self-critical for not

observing the principles of non-violence more faithfully. At this point, the most important challenge to Korean Christianity will be for the church -- despite and with respect to internal differences in disciplines and systems -- to become unified in fighting the evils which exist in society.

A problem which naturally arises at this point concerns cooperation from outside Korea: this cooperation must become deeper and more organized. Those in the nonviolent struggle around the world must cooperate in their united effort much more closely.

Until now I have been unable to express a clearcut position regarding American military assistance to Korea. This is because I have known the realities of our country. I had not answered positively to the question: "What would happen to the problem of human rights in South Korea if American military aid were to be suspended?" Now, though, my reply can be quite clear: Even if the American military is withdrawn immediately, what we want to be shown is a determined attitude to guarantee human rights. Of course, to suggest an immediate withdrawal is a reckless adventure. But even knowing this, what has become clear in my heart has come to me almost as a revelation. If we are to believe in God, then we must also believe in man. If America would go so far as to withdraw its troops, expressing thereby its decision to truly support the Korean people as humans -- even at the expense of exposing us to danger -- I believe that at that time America's real assistance could be provided, by allowing us to appeal to the hearts of people worldwide.

God is Alive!

I pray that all of you will be healthy, living in the Truth.

Your eternal friend,

Hahm Sok Hon

LOCKHEED SCANDAL REVEALS JAPAN-KOREA CORRUPTION

Hidden in the shadows of the Lockheed scandal in Japan is the connection between Korean dictator Park Chung Hee and right-wing Japanese politicians and businessmen. As the Tokyo District Prosecutor's office slowly unravels the massive payoffs of the American firm, the one remaining knot to unsnarl is the "Kodama-Osano Route" -- the alleged use of money from Lockheed by Kodama Yoshio, its secret agent in Japan, and Osano Kenji, owner of Kokusai Enterprises, a major transportation and hotel empire, major stockholder in Japan Air Lines, All Nippon Airways and Korean Air Lines, and political backer of Tanaka Kakuei and other leading conservative politicians. Both Kodama and Osano have close ties to the Park Chung Hee regime. Most observers expect the Kodama-Osano connection, when revealed, to lay bare major aspects of the financial-political ties between Japan and South Korea.

The clue to the Lockheed-Korea connection was discovered on February 19 this year. On that day Osano Kenji, in Hawaii at the time the Lockheed scandal broke in Japan, flew home to Tokyo by way of Seoul, where he met for several hours at Kimpo Airport with KAL President Cho Choong-Hoon, who is reputed to be close to Park Chung Hee. Cho then flew to Osaka with Osano, went by train to Yokohama where he spent the night before flying back to Seoul the following day. When questioned about this visit in the Diet Budget Committee a few days later, Osano was evasive and denied that any Lockheed related matters had been discussed. He further indicated that Cho had seen him off at the airport in Seoul. For this reason, opposition spokesmen in the Diet are now seeking his arrest on grounds of false testimony.

Kodama's and Osano's connection with Cho Choong-Hoon and the Park regime date back to 1961, the year of the Park coup d'etat. That year, Cho's Hanjin Transpor-

tation Co. received a loan of \$800,000 from Osano, who held a franchise on bus transportation for U.S. military bases in both Korea and Japan. Again, in 1966, Osano provided Cho \$7,000,000 worth of trucks and cranes, to enable him to secure a Pentagon contract. When Cho formed KAL in 1969, Osano was active in securing U.S. Defense Department contracts for the airline to fly Korean soldiers to Vietnam. He also got the airline to lease planes for this from JAL, of which he is the No. 1 private stockholder. In 1972 Osano purchased (or was given in lieu of debt repayment) 9.9% of KAL's stock, making him the largest single stockholder this ostensibly Korean-owned carrier.

In April, 1973, Kodama Yoshio signed a contract with Lockheed which included a clause granting him ¥1 billion payment for each Tri-Star KAL agreed to lease. That same month Kodama went to Korea, where he is alleged to have negotiated assistance to Park Chung Hee in silencing opposition leader Kim Dae Jung, then in Tokyo in return for a refinery contract for the Japan Line in which Kodama has interest, a shipping company with no previous oil refining experience. Whether such a deal was made cannot yet be determined, but two months later, ANA and the Japan Line formed a joint venture to provide helicopter service to an oil project near Chejudo. On August 8, Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from his hotel in Tokyo and brought by force to Seoul. On August 24, Kodama and Osano were both decorated by Park Chung Hee for their efforts in improving Japan-Korea relation. On August 25, Korean newspapers announced the formation of a joint Japanese-Korean company to develop tourism on Cheju-do. Kodama's protege, former Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke was named chairman, and Cho Choong-Hoon of KAL was designated vice-chairman. Later in the fall, the Japan Line was granted a contract to build and operate a major oil refinery in South Korea.

The role of Lockheed money in cementing these deals has not been firmly established. Yet suspicion has been aroused by the fact that ANA had signed a contract for the purchase of 21 Tri-Stars, a number far in excess of what independent aviation specialists considered their need or capacity. It has been surmised that the excess craft were for lease to KAL, probably for use on the new route to Chejudo, which the joint venture planned to turn into a major gambling and prostitution resort for Japanese pleasure-seekers.

Suspicion has been strengthened by the discovery in May that Kodama Yoshio used a secret account in the Tokyo branch of the Korea Exchange Bank to handle illegal foreign exchange from Lockheed.

However, when the full story is revealed, it is likely that more than a payment for securing aircraft lease will be discovered. The central figures in the Lockheed scandal all have deep connections with the Park regime. The flow of money to Korea through these figures has been a major factor in creating the almost total dependency of the Korean economy on Japanese business and the silent complicity of the Japanese government in the deprivation of human rights in Korea. When and if the full story is uncovered, the rotten core of Korea-Japan ties will be exposed.

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CONTENTS:

Editorial: Time To Clean Up The U.S.--Japan-Korea Connection!
500 Seoul National University Students Demonstrate
Against Park's U.S. Congressional Bribery Plot
"Declaration of Democratic Salvation of the Nation"
By the Students of Seoul National University
Lee Moon Young Appeals For Fair Treatment of Prisoners
International Consultation on Security, Peace and Human Rights
Japan Kyodan Addresses Korean Human Rights Issue
Former Presidential Crony Tortured, For Overthrow Plot
Theologians Declare Support For Kim Chi Ha
Interview With Kim Chi Ha's Mother
Japanese Korean NCCs Confer on Mission
Korean Youth Council Forms Good Samaritan Movement
Letter To The Editor

TIME TO CLEAN UP THE U.S.-JAPAN-KOREA CONNECTION!

Park Chung Hee's government has just been dealt a triple blow. The decline of the Liberal Democratic Party in the Japanese general election is a clear protest from the people of Japan against corrupt money politics. This, coupled with the defeat of the Nixon-Ford administration in the U.S. and the exposure of Park Chung Hee's million-dollar-per-year effort since 1970 to buy influence in the U.S. Congress, has brought about the greatest crisis in the fifteen year regime of the South Korean dictator. The full implications of the Japanese election are not yet clear, but one thing is apparent: the corrupted right-wing elements of the LDP have been greatly weakened. The political mood in Japan seems strongly in favor of a clean-up.

The most serious blow to Park, however, is the exposure by U.S. government sources of massive bribery involving up to 90 members of the U.S. Congress in a plot personally directed by Park Chung Hee and carried out by the KCIA under cover of Unification Church leaders Moon Sun Myung and Park Bo Hi and Washington lobbyist Park Tong Sun

Vast confusion and senseless rage are said to reign in the Blue House in Seoul. Heads are rolling right and left in an effort to cover traces and find scapegoats. Five cabinet members have been replaced, the KCIA's top three leaders have been changed and a number of KCIA agents from overseas have been called home. Among these, at least one and perhaps two agents have chosen political asylum in the U.S. rather than face their master's wrath. So much for the kind of loyalty the Park regime generates! Their testimony to U.S. authorities will surely lead to even more revelations of KCIA violence and deceit.

This crude and clumsy attempt to buy the favors of the U.S. Government with money, women and lavish gifts has revulsed many who might otherwise have willingly

acquiesced in the argument for continued U.S. presence in South Korea. But this was too blatant. It lay bare for all the world to see what citizens of Korea have long recognized, that Park Chung Hee would do anything to keep himself in power. Not content to destroy democracy at home, he tried to destroy it in the U.S. as well. In trying to buy friends, Park has succeeded only in selling his own country. This ill-conceived and badly executed plot has lost Park's regime any friends it might have had in Congress, making Park himself the greatest risk to Korean security.

It is reliably reported that Park Chung Hee has thereby lost his influence within the ROK military in Seoul as well as the business community. (see related article, p. 7). Japanese business leaders are noticeably dragging their heels in negotiating loans for the next Five-Year Plan. Talks which were scheduled for several weeks ago are just now getting underway in Seoul, with a Japanese negotiating team of considerably less stature than originally planned. No doubt the Japanese are anxious not to make major new commitments to the Park government on the eve of its collapse.

By a strange irony, the exposure of this Congressional bribery plot wiped out whatever advantage the ROK government might have obtained from the simultaneous exposure of a North Korean attempt in several Scandinavian countries to sell tax-free liquor and tobacco to earn foreign exchange illegally. Some persons might be tempted to generalize about all Koreans from these events, just as the revelations about the U.S.-CIA have cast clouds of suspicion over all Americans. However, this would be a serious misreading. Far more to the point is the recognition that in this incident, Americans have a first-hand opportunity to know the frustration and shame of the Korean people subjected to this kind of rule. Such knowledge should lead to increased solidarity and commitment to clean up the political stables in both countries.

The KCIA revelations are being watched carefully in Japan, in some quarters with a good deal of fear. For if the investigation spreads to Japan, it will uncover a far more systemic connection between Park Chung Hee and Japanese political and underworld figures than in the U.S. Up until now, the Japanese press, distracted by the general elections, has duly reported the American investigations into the activities of Park Tong Sun and other KCIA agents, but there have been few attempts to trace similar or connected activities in Japan, even though it is common knowledge that the KCIA has engaged in intimidation and extortion of Korean residents in Japan for years. Similarly, while the public has known for years that one of the richest veins in the "politics of gold" has been mined in the Japan-Korea connection, few have dared to challenge this corrupt structure openly.

With the elections over, however, it is time for serious investigations into the rotten structure of mutual interest that has tied the most base elements in Japanese business and political life to the Park Chung Hee regime. Unless the press, the opposition parties and the public force this kind of searching, they will lose the opportunity to carry out the clear mandate of the election-- to bring cleaner, more honorable political leadership to Japan.

The people of the U.S. and Japan have changed their leaders by means of the ballot box. There is no doubt that, given the opportunity, the people of South Korea would also vote out the Park Chung Hee regime. Because of the instruments of fear and repression that keep him in power, no such opportunity can be expected soon. But exposing and severing Park's secret and corrupt ties to Japan and America will go far toward opening up that possibility.

500 SNU STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST PARK'S U.S. CONGRESSIONAL BRIBERY PLOT

SEOUL, DECEMBER 8 (Special Dispatch to Asahi by Correspondent Okuri)
A student demonstration broke out today at Seoul National University, Korea's most prestigious school, in spite of the harsh restrictions of Presidential Decree No. 9 which prevent any anti-government movements. The students distributed a mimeographed pamphlet titled, "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation", which included demands that the government make public the details about the recent plot to bribe the U.S. Congress and punish those who were guilty. The Government has been thrown into a crisis because of the revelations about this plot and had forbidden the publication of any information relating to it in Korea. The fact that the students, after a long silence therefore, broke through this strictly guarded secret and directly attacked the government in public with this demand is considered a major frontal attack.

The students gathered on the suburban campus of Seoul National University at 10:30 a.m. After reading the declaration they began to sing a popular protest song, "The song of Justice" and to shout such slogans as "Down with the Emergency Decrees!" and "Abolish the Yushin Constitution!" The total number, led by students from the Law department, was about 500 students.

When plainclothed security police hurried to the scene and tried to arrest the leaders of the demonstration, a struggle broke out. Observers at the scene saw three students carried off bound hand and foot. After a while, an imposing array of riot police arrived on the campus by truck.

As the title of the leaflet they distributed suggests, it is almost certain that the student action was a follow-up to the March First Declaration for National Democratic Salvation for which former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and others are currently on trial.

The South Korean student movement has been smoldering quietly under the restrictions of Emergency Decree Nine; however, at the same university on October 15 a demonstration broke out calling for the "overthrow of dictatorship".

In the United States a critical mood toward South Korea has heightened with the presidential election of Jimmy Carter who called for "Morality in foreign affairs," and this mood has been intensified by the exposure of the attempts by Korean CIA personnel and businessmen to buy influence in the U.S. government. Close attention is being paid to the Park regime, already watching closely its relations with the U.S. The opposition forces as well are paying careful attention to the direction of U.S. policy.

'DECLARATION OF DEMOCRATIC SALVATION OF THE NATION' BY THE STUDENTS OF SEOUL NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

'The Declaration of Democratic Salvation of the Nation' by students of Seoul National University criticizes the Park Regime very strongly. Of special note is the fact that it stresses that the power for democratization has been strengthened by breaking the "silence" which is enforced by Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9

The Declaration is as follows:

The pulse of the March First Movement (1919 Independence Movement) and of the April Revolution (1960 Student Revolution) has been cut off and taken over, but it comes to life when our nation is in crisis. Fellow students, who have been consuming our youth in the struggles against imperialism and dictatorship, we

are called to the frontline of history again. There is no one to proclaim the truth in this dark and frozen land. They are all cowardly keeping silence. How long must this suffocating silence continue?

Our friends, should we not denounce these dirty facts without qualms? We shudder at the thought of the day, October 17, 1972. What has this Yushin Constitution, which was forced on us by the roar of tanks, brought us? By the devil's club called the Emergency Decree, it has trampled on academic freedom, stopped the breath of freedom of speech and imprisoned every just person. They have used the government-controlled organization, the Students Defence Corps, as a tool to destroy the rights of self-governance of the students.

With extremely high priced commodities and starvation wages, workers are deprived of the three basic rights and even their very right to survive is threatened. All other rights are stolen from the people. In spite of the fact that the constitution must be established by the will of the people, the authoritarian idea of the present government equates the interest of the present regime with those of the entire nation, and has uprooted completely the power for democratic change of the constitution.

How can a finite man control infinite history? How can a man with finite wisdom lay waste the infinite energy of freedom? How can a man with finite ability control infinitely changing security by himself? How can a leader with finite character try to control forever the infinite government of the people?

But this is not all! The present government has brought the pride of Korean people to the ground by the bribery of high U.S. officials. That is, the Park Regime shamelessly gave several million dollars of bribes to Ford, Kissinger, and U.S. Congressmen to gain their support for the Korean government.

Such immorality by the Park Regime started long ago. He revoked his former promise of May 16 (1961 Military Revolution) not to run for election. Again, in the presidential election in 1971, he said he would not run for office again, but instead he used tanks to establish the Yushin Constitution.

We will not be deceived any more! The Yushin Constitution, established by tanks and military boots, is nothing but the destruction of the constitutional order. We firmly and wholly reject the Yushin Constitution. Now at this moment, breaking the silence before the storm, a new stage of the history of the Korean people will be opened here at the foot of Kwan-ak mountain. [Kwan-ak area is where Seoul National University is located]

(translated from Asahi Shimbun, Dec. 9, 1976)

LEE MOON YOUNG APPEALS FOR FAIR TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

- The following is the translation of Defendant Lee Moon Young's petition to the chief of Seoul prison.

To: The Chief of Seoul Prison from defense lawyer Park Sei Kyung

Subject: The items of petition of defendant Lee Moon Young, in prison

Mr. Lee Moon Young, who has been in your prison, has been on a hunger strike for several days and has demanded the following items. At one o'clock p.m., November 9, 1976, Mr. Lee Moon Young cited these items to the defense lawyer and I have written them down on his behalf. And therefore I promised to convey these things to you. Thus I am sending this message, as the defense lawyer for Lee Moon Young.

PETITION

I request to you that legally effective measures should be taken for those who are imprisoned in Seoul Prison because of their violation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9. And these regulations should be applied. And these regulations should be written down and hung in the rooms of the defendants.

1) This is for the protection of the minimum rights of the abovementioned who are in prison.

2) There should be regulations for the staff of the prison to follow.

3) And moreover, if these regulations are to be helpful for the restoration of healthy democratic politics and establishment of morality, the following items must be included.

1. The prison rooms in which the accused are located should be beyond a distance from which surveillance by binoculars or shooting is possible from the house or other facilities outside the prison.

2. Drinking water and private meals must be delivered under the constant and direct inspection of the staff themselves.

3. Food should be delivered to the rooms as soon as it arrives, under the supervision of the staff in charge.

4. Medicine which is delivered from the hospital should be delivered by the staff of the hospital without going through the prison guards.

5. Haircuts and shaving should be done either by the staff or by other prisoners under the direct supervision of the staff.

6. The rooms should have the following facilities:

a. The rooms should be such that the rain and unwanted wind, various bugs and rats should not be able to come in.

b. Windows should be such that they can be opened or closed at any time according to the prisoner's wishes.

c. There should be no smell of human waste in the rooms and other rotten smells should be prevented.

d. The temperature of the room should be maintained above centigrade five degrees which is the temperature to preserve the milk in Seoul, for milk is delivered as a part of prison meals.

e. Paper bags of the dried bread which have been acquired by the prisoners can be used to paste on the wall to prevent cold air.

f. In the room the sacred national flag should not be hung. On the wall in the cell our "resolutions" cannot be hung unless it contains terms like the Republic of Korea and democracy.

g. The National Education Charter is a political document, therefore it should not be hung in the room.

h. In the room a waste basket, broom and thermojar should be located either by public or private expense.

7. The songs of the New Village Movement should not be sung for these prisoners.

8. These prisoners should not be allowed to hear shouts of dirty words by the staff while they are hitting prison inmates.

9. Spitting should not be allowed on the floor where there is drinking water and an eating vessel.

10. So-called morning exercises should not be done.

11. Pencils should be supplied to the prisoners.
12. The prisoners should be allowed to read books which can be purchased in Korean book stores or which are in the libraries of Korean Universities.
13. It may be granted that the body is searched before one family visit, so that inmates cannot engage in violence among themselves, and may even be granted to tie the prisoner on the chair, but it should not be allowed for the contents of the conversations to be written down by the staff of prison.
14. Prisoners should be taken care of by the staff under the responsibility of a ranking official, whose level should be the section chief of security or above.
15. These prisoners should be supplied one silver spoon, one silver vessel.
16. Medicine should be supplied for relief of prisoners from any poisonous things.
17. Any doctor should be able to come in to the prison and examine prisoners as the prisoners wish.
18. The prisoner and defense lawyer of a prisoner should be allowed to confirm these regulations and ascertain if the above regulations are kept or not.

The above has been dictated in the visitation room of Seoul prison.
November 9, 1976, 13 hrs.

On behalf of the prisoner I publish this document.

Park Sei Kyung
Defense lawyer.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON SECURITY, PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"Whether visas would be granted this time to the Japanese delegates or not became for us one of the keys to judge the change of our government's attitude after Carter's election," said Ms Lee Go Jong, president of Church Women United who was sentenced to five years in August as one of the 18 defendants in the March 1 Declaration on National Democratic Salvation case. Both she and Dr. Lee Tae Young, prominent woman lawyer who also got five years were among official Korean delegates to the International Consultation on "National Security, Peace and Human Rights" held in Seoul's Academy House, November 25-27. Another defendant, Korean Quaker leader Ham Sok Hon and most of the wives of detained defendants were also present part of the time.

While foreign participants (Australia, Canada, Germany, India, Japan, Netherland, New Zealand, Singapore, Uruguay and U.S.) were cautious in discussing sensitive political matters in Korea, it was the Korean participants who mostly led the discussion on critical issues. Hence the AFFIRMATION approved by the consultation states, "the life of the Korean Christians has been an inspiration to all participants."

The consultation affirmed "that peace is more than the absence of war but is built upon forgiveness and reconciliation...Freedom, equality and participation of the people in decision making are the necessary foundations for democratic society and government. Politics, economics and human rights are intimately interlinked. The Church must be involved not only in the identification of denials of human rights but also in concrete actions to end that denial by promoting and defending human rights."

The participants signed a petition to President Park pleading for release and amnesty to persons involved in the March 1 incident, Kim Chi Ha, and students and other young people who are in prison.

On the last day, the Korean authorities invited the participants to attend the court hearing of the March 1 incident and to go to the front line and to observe the tunnel alleged to have been dug by North Korean forces. The court was filled with people. The participants were led to the second row which normally is reserved for the press. Most of the defendants looked back to the foreign visitors. Some waved at them. For each of the eleven detained defendants, two guards were seated on both sides. Three rows of them were followed by a straight row totally occupied by guards, separating them from the last row which was for seven defendants who are not detained.

The lawyers and prosecutors exchanged demands for and rejections of evidence and testimony. Proceeding took place in a rather peaceful manner until the visitors retired in order to get into the bus which took them to the front line. After they left, however, there was a harsh exchange between the prosecutors and the lawyers. The former yelled at the latter blaming them for their repetitious demand for the same witnesses.

During a short recess, the press people were eager to learn what the consultation was trying to accomplish. They had known already that the consultation decided late the previous night to issue the petition to the President. Although hardly anything will be printed in their papers either on the trial or the consultation, the concern was there among the press. In their eyes the visitors noted the hidden but earnest desire for the day when they can report their real concerns freely.

FORMER PRESIDENTIAL CRONY TORTURED FOR OVERTHROW PLOT

Suspicion in the KCIA of the existence of a secret organization headed up by retired military leaders which was plotting the replacement of Park Chung Hee by Chung Il Kwan, Speaker of the Assembly, was discovered when Lt. General Kang Mun Bong, member of the government party, was interrogated under torture recently on charges of taking bribes.

The defendant, Kang Mun Bong, denied the existence of such a secret organization. However, if his deposition in a public trial is true, it is a severe shock to the Park, regime, which had completely fortified itself against attack by opposition forces, only to find that Chung Il Kwan, who is still an influential figure in the Park regime, was implicated in such a plot at the very heart of power itself.

Gen. Kang Mun Bong, formerly the commander of the Second Army, was a prominent figure in the Park government, a member of the National Assembly (Yojong Hoe) nominated by Park himself. He was arrested in August on charges of accepting bribes and for violation of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9, and was deprived of his membership in the Assembly.

Well-informed diplomatic sources have kept a keen eye on this power struggle, although the national press has made public only the fact of Kang's arrest on charges of bribery.

On December 4, it was announced that Mr. Lee Hak Su, President of Kwangmyeong Printing Co. and Korea Weongyang Fisheries Co., was under arrest on charges of tax dodging. Lee had taken part in the Park Chung Hee coup d'etat in 1961, as a private printer who printed the coup's declaration. Because of this, he has prospered during the Park regime. For such an influential figure suddenly to

be arrested is considered by confidential diplomatic sources to indicate some possible connection with this case.

Speaker Chung Il Kwan and Gen. Kang Mun Bong were classmates in the same middle school, and when the Korean military was formed, they worked closely together, Chung as Chief Staff Officer, Kang as Strategic Education Director. Persons under investigation including Lee Hak Su, are predominantly from the northern half of the Korean peninsula.

Ever since the Park Chung Hee military coup in 1961, the figures close to Park, including former Prime Minister Kim Chong Pil, Lee Hu Rak, (former director of the KCIA) and Park Chung Gyu (former security chief for the Blue House), have one after the other disappeared from the center of power, as Park came to run the government bureaucracies directly in a "one-man imperial rule". Among these, only Chung Il Kwan remains as a powerful figure, who while pledging his loyalty to Park Chung Hee, continues to wield influence. Chung is still the speaker of the Assembly.

(from Asahi Shimbun, Dec. 9, 1976)

THEOLOGIANS DECLARE SUPPORT FOR KIM CHI HA

The Japanese Catholic Council for Justice and Peace has gathered more than one hundred signatures of theologians and biblical scholars from all over the world in a campaign to support the poet, Kim Chi Ha, whose trial is scheduled to conclude within the next few weeks. When the campaign is concluded, all the signed petitions will be presented to President Park Chung Hee.

The "Declaration of Belief in Kim Chi Ha" which is being circulated reads:

It is our profound and unshakable conviction that the poet Kim Chi Ha is not a Communist, but a believing Christian whose own designation of himself as Catholic Radical is firmly supported by Catholic theology. This conviction of ours stems from our reading of Kim Chi Ha's "Declaration of Conscience", the testimony he has given at his own trial and the notes he wrote in prison. The thought he expresses is in perfect harmony with the spirit of the social teachings of the Catholic Church to be found in Encyclicals of the recent Popes, for instance, "Mater et Magistra", "Populorum Progressio", etc. Two theologians of Sophia University, Tokyo, Frs. Adof Nicolas, S.J. and Fumio Tabuchi, S.J. endorse this in their essays on the thought of Kim Chi Ha.

We profoundly respect Kim Chi Ha's actions which stem from his Christian faith and his witness to this faith, and attest that he is not a Communist but a believing Catholic.

INTERVIEW WITH KIM CHI HA'S MOTHER

It has been about one year and nine months since Kim Chi Ha returned to prison. In all this time his mother has had no opportunity to see him, but from his lawyer she has learned of his life in prison. The cell where he is kept is the same one where Moon Sae Gwan, who was executed for the assassination of President Park's wife, was kept. It is about 45 square feet in size. The cells on either side are kept empty, to prevent him from communicating with others. Directly in front of his door is a desk, where two guards sit constantly watching him. These guards are changed every three months, because the government fears he might unduly influence them. This tight surveillance dates from last summer when the Blue House, struck by the publication of Kim Chi Ha's 'Declaration

of Conscience", specifically ordered such specially restrictive conditions.

In spite of the severe Korean winter, his cell has no heat at all, nothing but blankets to ward off the frigid cold. He is allowed to exercise only in his cell, so, his mother recalls, his socks which are delivered to her for washing and mending, always have holes in them. Until recently he was allowed no reading material at all, but a couple months ago he was given a small Bible.

This small, gentle but firm mother said that her son would not feel the cold even in such a barren cell in this freezing weather because his heart was beating strongly. She told us about his childhood. He was, she said, a very stubborn child with a rigid mind. He was a studious boy, who read books whenever he could. He has always loved the poor and oppressed people. He never possessed anything of his own, since he always gave away whatever he had to others in need. All he needed, he claimed, was something to eat and the clothes he was wearing. Whenever he had some money in his pocket, he always gave it away to others without even counting it, so that sometimes he had to walk for more than an hour to get home, having given away even his bus fare. He would say that it was more important to buy food for those who had none or to pay for the schooling of those who wanted to study but had no money than to buy things to enjoy for himself.

When he came out of prison the last time, he found a wall and a gate had been constructed around his house. He tore down the wall, she said, because he felt his house should have nothing to hide or possess. He would never lock his doors.

Kim Chi Ha's mother recalled, "When he left for college, he told me not to expect anything from him. When I think now about what he said, I realize that he was referring to what he is doing now. There is nothing much I can teach him as his mother, but I can learn a lot from what he is doing. I believe that what he has been doing is right, I believe in him completely. I do not want to have a comfortable life. What I want now is to support my Chi Ha from behind as his mother so that he can continue his struggle for his belief."

JAPANESE-KOREAN NCCS CONFER ON MISSION

"Mission and History -- Suffering and Hope in Asia" was the theme discussed by representatives of the NCCs of Japan and Korea in the Third Bi-National Consultation held November 22 - 25 at the Christian Academy House in Seoul. Under this theme, the problems of national selfhood and the relation of faith to culture were debated. The delegates sought an understanding of mission which neither ignores traditional culture as irrelevant to the gospel nor becomes enmeshed in it to the extent that mission loses its critical transcendence. The painful memory of Japanese Christianity, which during the colonial period, supported the Imperial mythology as part of the church's mission in Korea, was a vivid part of this discussion.

In the joint declaration, the delegates stated that "The mission of the Gospel, by entering into the peoples' concrete situation as a transcendent universal questioning of traditional culture, can break open the closed character of such culture and give birth to a more open, enriched and creative life."

The consultation delegates pledged to continue to work for the enhanced selfhood of the peoples of both nations. It addressed several continuing issues, such as the problem of Koreans in Japan (including particularly those in Sakhalin who wish to return home), Korean A-bomb victims, and problems caused by Japanese tourism in Korea.

The consultation took note of a recent anonymous publication in Korea which had attempted to smear the two NCCs as linked to communist organizations in an attempt to undermine cooperation between them. They condemned this attempted slander and agreed to increase their efforts at cooperation and deeper mutual understanding by ecumenical workcamps, joint mission programs in third countries, and exchange of personnel and seminars. They agreed also to take up the issue of Japanese economic domination of Korea for further study.

KOREAN YOUTH COUNCIL FORMS GOOD SAMARITAN MOVEMENT

In October, representatives of various denominational youth organizations formed a new movement, called the Good Samaritan Movement, in order to give visible evidence of their commitment to the spirit of the Reformation. In the Declaration issued on the Anniversary of the Reformation, October 30, 1976, the youths stated:

We resolve to form a new movement for love and justice which will reform this sick society full of dehumanization, and restore the image of God in man. And we resolve to kindle the torch of reformation in the Korean Church for this nation, which has lost her hope and is stricken with divisions and sunken into deep frustration. The reformation of today shall come. This is the meaning of the Good Samaritan Movement.

The name of the Good Samaritan Movement was chosen, because, as the Declaration stated:

Our neighbors are those people who have been robbed in this society and whose rights are violated unjustly, and who therefore cannot realize their human life. Especially we cannot forget the people in North Korea who are suffering under the greatest oppression, hunger and persecution in history. To become neighbor to the person who has been robbed means to become a good Samaritan to share their pain and suffering and accept their suffering and pain as ours, being with them in the name of Christ.

The movement plans activities to support this vision at both national and regional levels.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir:

I've received several copies of your recent communiques though I have not subscribed to it. While assuming that you are sincere in these papers, I find them rather one sided, and feel that this type of publication is counter productive.

The Korean Church is quite aware of the general situation and has in the past been able to deal with the authorities with concrete results. Your publication unfortunately represents the opinion of a very minor part of the Korean Church. Frankly, the Korean Church can be supported more effectively with prayer than with one-sided propaganda.

The rapidly growing prosperity of the Korean people even in the most remote rural and mountain areas tells a story all its own more effectively.

John E. Talmage
Southern Presbyterian Church, Seoul

Note: We share your prayers, but not your willingness to substitute economic growth for human dignity and justice.